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MEMORIES OF HAWAII

Julius A. Palmer Jr.

MEMORIES OF HAWAII

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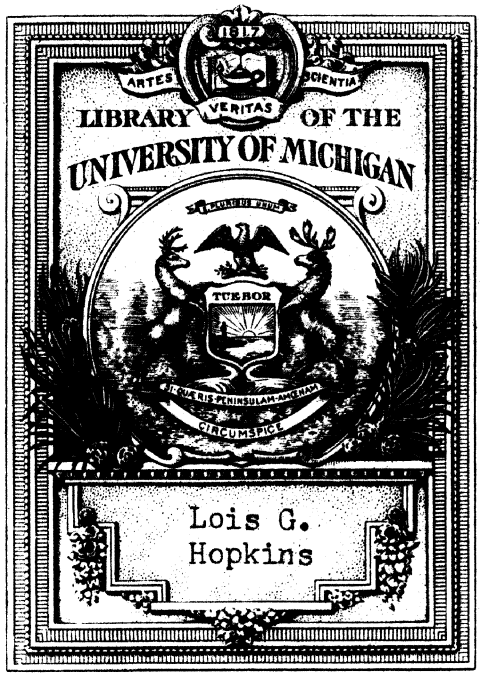


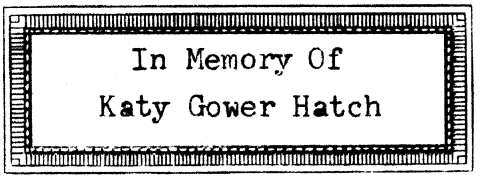


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# MEMORIES OF HAWAII

AND

# HAWAIIAN CORRESPONDENCE

BY

JULIUS A. PALMER, JR.

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT "DAILY EVENING TRANSCRIPT"

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BOSTON

LEE AND SHEPARD, PUBLISHERS

1894

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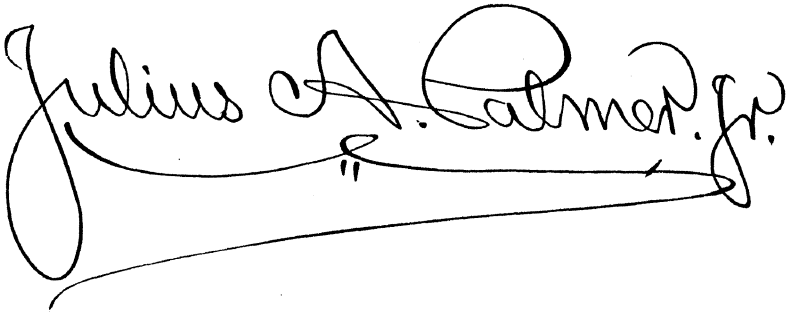
# INTRODUCTION.

In the month of December, 1893, I was commissioned by the Boston Transcript Company to go to Honolulu for the purpose of ascertaining the facts in regard to the revolution which was inaugurated on the 17th of January of that year. At the date of my departure from Boston, there was further a possibility of collision between the United States authorities and the party in power, or between the royalists and provisionalists. The faith of the partisans of the Queen in her eventual restoration to the throne, and the confidence of those in rebellion against her authority, that they would be protected by annexation to the United States, kept both parties in a state of suspense which has guaranteed the Hawaiian islands a condition of nominal peace. But Hawaii is no nearer a settlement of its political difficulties than it was on the day when a few of its citizens, seizing the reins of government, despatched five of their number to Washington, and made the attempt to convey a nation of ninety thousand people to a foreign power. The reasons for this appear in these letters and telegrams. It was at first my intention to issue them in pamphlet form for gratuitous circulation amongst friends; but the fact that all information furnished the people of the United States comes through channels pledged to support the provisionalists, and the general interest shown by frequent quotation of these articles, has decided me to offer them to the public in a more convenient form. By the courtesy of the Transcript Company, I am permitted to do this; and it may be in place for me to add that, although I am personally responsible for any views of the question herein expressed, yet, for the opportunity of revisiting those beautiful islands of the Pacific, and for the privilege of enlightening the people of my native city on the matters at issue there, with absolutely no instructions save to follow the dictates of my usual independence in judgment, I am under obligations to the newspaper in which this matter has been already printed. I most cheerfully express my gratitude to Hawaiian citizens of all races and of widely different opinions who have, through their hospitality and courtesy, enabled me to express in these articles, in the strongest and best terms, the views of all parties in this contest.



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# HAWAIIAN CORRESPONDENCE.

## MEMORIES OF HAWAII.

*(Written May, 1877, when the Hawaiian Embassy visited Boston.)*

He who has never enjoyed the luxury of a few months' quiet life in the tropics knows not one of the most exquisite of the joys of the senses. It is well described in the poem of the "Lotus Eaters," by Tennyson, but any pen would fail in the attempt to paint a delight where sense and spirit are so commingled.

And of all tropical residences, Honolulu, at least for an American, has by far the most in its favor. Twenty years ago, when I entered its harbor, there was no hotel for the stranger; but then, however, there was no stranger, simply because the Americans there opened their doors to each new arrival, and in some way he was soon among friends. The advent of those of that blood into colder climes recalls to me many characters and events of that delightful little island kingdom.

I was first taken in charge by Dr. Damon, the seaman's preacher, one of those rare souls who can always speak the truth in kindness, and who consequently, for about half a century, simply lived in love toward God and man, making nought but friends among the contending elements that the delicious trade-winds brought to those shores.

The descendants of the missionary dynasty, the Roman Catholics who have been and still are their constant rivals, and the interloping English ritualists, even the irrepressible sea-captains and their turbulent followers, — all, all had nought to say about Father Damon except that he was a good man. And he was not one of those negative characters against which it is hard to bring an accusation. He was a man of most decided opinions; but he always stated them in such a gentle, affectionate way, that you really felt that he was conscious of pain at his own

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kindly heart if his words were not in accord with the sentiments of his listener. He was the preacher at an independent church; the editor, from about 1847, of a small periodical called *The Friend*, which gave the sailor directions how to avoid the shoals of the Pacific Ocean, and also how ultimately to find entrance to the port of peace. He died about two years ago, leaving the only true riches, — a good name and a memory to be always blessed.

From his house, I was conducted to a dear little cottage opposite that of General McCook, then the American minister resident. But, while his was lofty and of civilized architecture, mine was but one story, giving one square central room, and by the continuation of its four-sided, sloping roof, ample space at the sides for verandas, bedrooms, and closets. Here, surrounded by a board fence ten feet high, I passed the months of the close of the year 1867, in that delicious retirement and rest which such a climate only affords. There are many houses in Honolulu built thus, so as to allow of the scantiest clothing, and yet permit perfect freedom in one's domicile.

Yet I found none of that superheated atmosphere and burning soil which I have noticed in Cuba. The very land of the Queen of the Antilles seems to radiate warmth like the surface of a stove. All our meals came from a restaurant near by; so, although the house had a detached kitchen, it was never used. At an early walk, or one after four P.M., the atmosphere was delightful, and the whole scene bewitching, for then the native women, clad in their loose, flowing robes, dashed along the principal streets, seated man-fashion on their scrubby ponies; or the beautiful half-caste girls, in their loose Mother Hubbard robes with flower-encircled heads, could be met going to some evening auction, or sauntering along in search of their sweethearts. From all time youth and maid have had and must have a trysting-place. The Nuanu Valley and the thatched hut had not lost their charm; but one of the prettiest sights was the evening auction-room, where the audiences assembled about Christmas time, chose from cheap European novelties, or flirted together at will.

The Hawaiian women, so far as I met them, are proud of their native blood, and love the customs of their ancestors. I had a cousin married to one of them in missionary days. His widow, half European, and her mother, a full-blooded native, lived together, and were still fond of *poi*, a taste in which they have many sympathizers. It is the native food, a paste made from a root called *taro*, much resembling in its taste the potato, and is very digestible and wholesome.

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Through the instrumentality of the lady above mentioned, I spent a delightful evening with the queen dowager, Emma, widow of Kamehameha IV., a mild, sweetly spoken woman, on whom grief had laid a heavy hand; for, in a fit of temper, her husband, the king, had put her only son into a bath of cold water to punish him for some obstinacy. It killed the prince and lost the succession. The king, a noble and excellent man, died in his sorrow; and only in her literary tastes and in the mutual love that existed between herself and the people could the desolate queen still have made her life dear. Every one loved her. A naval officer, of whose friendship I was always proud, and whose letters met me in every quarter of the globe, — the late Admiral Henry Knox Thatcher, — was detailed to convey Queen Emma and her suite from San Francisco to her native shores. She was a passenger on the "Vanderbilt" under his command, and he told me he had never met with a more perfect lady, with a simpler heart.

With the queen I had another link of acquaintance in the fact that I was a fellow-voyager with a noble couple who were members of her suite when, with her husband, she visited England. This pair continued their wanderings to New Zealand, and, penetrating its forests, lived with the native chiefs, with whom, by means of the similarity of language, they could easily communicate. They were about the handsomest pair of mortals, in some respects, it has ever been my lot to meet. After a year's rovings, they were again with their people, and the simple islanders came along upon bended knee, and bathed their hands with tears of joy; my own sight was not very clear when it was fixed on the touching picture, and I still think that there were human virtues under the feudal system to which we are strangers.

The present princess, Mrs. Lydia Dominis, was then a young wife, one of the most graceful women I ever saw move through the dance. The French frigate "Venus" came into port, and a ball was given on board, to which, by the kindness of Hon. Stephen H. Phillips, then attorney-general of the kingdom, I was favored with an invitation. In watching from the quarter the dancers as they waltzed on the main-deck, one entirely forgot color at the grace and charm displayed by these women in every motion. One could easily believe that the sailor's contest for his dark-skinned sweetheart has sometimes threatened to revolutionize the kingdom, and that visitors to Hawaii have often most unexpectedly fulfilled the threat of "Locksley Hall," and forgotten civilization for a swarthy bride.

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Noble traits, too, run in the native blood; yes, even alongside the native leprosy. Bill Ragsdale! shall I ever forget him? Who was he? Well, at that time he was the power behind the Hawaiian island throne. All the discussions in the native Parliament are carried on in two languages. Ragsdale was the most wonderful interpreter that I ever met, and I speak as a critic who knows what it is to change thought from one language to another. I saw him under trying circumstances, for the reciprocity treaty trembled in the balance. The Hawaiians thought it an hypothecation of their territory to the United States. The sugar-planters saw only a guaranteed market for their harvests. There was some doubt which side Bill would take. Of one thing there was no doubt; namely, the opposite side would be whipped. If my memory is not at fault, he had just been sent to the chain-gang with his head broken by a drunken brawl. But the Parliament was as dull as an orthodox parlor on a Sunday afternoon. A bold member moves a free pardon to Bill Ragsdale, and that worthy is brought in, attired as usual in a spotless suit of white cashmere that would do honor to any window in the Somerset Club next July. His head lost none of its dignity because his curly black ringlets contrasted with the turban-like bandage. Then began the pleadings; and as the interpreter became enthusiastic, and in fluent English or impassioned Hawaiian, equally without a moment's hesitation, swayed that assembly of mingled nationalities, my own heart thrilled with pride at the view of such talent; and the calm face of Mr. Phillips, the attorney for the Crown, wore a quiet look of satisfaction when he saw that Mr. Ragsdale was winning the battle.

And I have heard that the death — for death it is — of this island genius was worthy of his life. The symptoms of leprosy attacked him. A weaker man would have concealed its commencement; but his soul rose to the occasion, and, assembling around him his friends and neighbors, he threw all the force of his splendid eloquence into a last oration, in which he disclosed his disease, told them of his purpose, and in fulfilment thereof went forth to voluntary exile until death at the lepers' village on Molokai, where he was made superintendent of the settlement. We forgive much to genius, for on great occasions it is great.

A colony with a Catholic priest as their spiritual adviser, himself voluntarily cut off forever from earth, await the day of death on a part of one of those beautiful islands. Leprosy is somewhat slower than consumption, yet its fatality is none the less inevitable. Whatever

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his previous faith, the leper of Hawaii hears his last Christian instruction from Catholic lips, and returns to dust followed by a Catholic prayer.

It is, perhaps, not generally recognized that religious liberty was brought to Hawaii with the guns of a French frigate, and further guaranteed to the kingdom by the actual seizure of the islands by Lord George Paulet, in 1843, on the part of England.

The missionary dynasty of King Hiram and my Lord Judd was probably about as perfect a spiritual and temporal despotism as ever existed, unless it may be that once maintained on our soil by the early settlers of the colony of Massachusetts Bay.

The Rev. Hiram Bingham, the individual first named above, had himself submitted to the Ruler of All at the time of my visit to the islands, or else had left the kingdom; but Dr. Judd, the father of one of the members of the present government, was still living, and, as he was a sugar-planter, we were brought into business relations. He was a mild, benevolent physician, who had done much for humanity. The last picture I see of him is that of a kind old teacher instructing one of his Chinese servants how to read English, showing that the ancient vows were unforgotten.

The English Church is a recent interloper on the mission territory, invited there by Queen Emma and her husband about twenty-five years ago. The Church of Rome dates from a much earlier day. Its first converts were Boki, the governor of Oahu, and the prime minister of Kamehameha II. These received Christian baptism from the chaplain of the French frigate "Uranie" eight months before the landing of the Boston missionaries. After several banishments, it was securely established in 1839. It was as fortunate in the choice of its bishop — Father Maigret — as was Boston in the selection of Bishop Cheverus. When he left to attend the Œcumenical Council, poor as any one of his flock, all classes, Catholic and Protestant, united in urging his acceptance of a purse for his journey.

It is sometimes claimed by the advocates of missions that the decay of the native race in Hawaii has been retarded by Christianity and civilization. I cannot see that the condition of the natives in these distant lands varies in any degree from that of our own aborigines. It is the old story of the extinction of a weak race at the influx of a stronger. The islands contain now but a little over ten per cent. of the number of natives found there by Captain Cook one hundred and eight years ago. They have declined from about 62,000 to 47,000 in the last twenty years.

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And I must also believe that their sinful condition was much exaggerated by the early settlers. To a party of Boston Puritans landing there in 1821, the spectacle of a naked people, and the promiscuous association of the sexes, was doubtless a very shocking sight. To one accustomed to voyages in uncivilized countries such habits were perfectly natural. To a disciple of Jean Jacques Rousseau these islands were then in that ideal state of happy nature to which he would have us all return. They were never cannibals. Captain Cook found them a simple, friendly, peaceable people. His own death was occasioned by a quarrel, in which, on the testimony of his companions, his impetuous temper was mostly to blame. Such are a few of my personal reminiscences of these beautiful islands, reviewed now hastily after the lapse of twenty years, and as the tribute of a former subject to the dynasty whose flag floats over the Parker House to-day.

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# TWO HAWAIIAN QUEENS.

I HAVE often wondered what would be my impressions should I ever revisit those islands where I dwelt for nearly a half-year, some twenty years ago, when the present queen was Mrs. Dominis, the graceful wife of Mr. John Dominis, governor of Oahu and British merchant at Honolulu. I stood on the high poop-deck of the French frigate "Venus" at a grand ball, where I had gone at the invitation of Hon. Stephen H. Phillips of Salem, then attorney-general of the islands. To look at the face of Queen Liliuokalani in repose, any one of us of the stronger yet more susceptible sex would have said that it presented nothing to excite the wish for a second glance; but of all the fair women who then moved through the dance on the great main-deck of the frigate, she is the one that, from that moment to the present, retains the strongest hold on my memory. Why? It is as impossible to say as to explain that mysterious magnetism which draws our affections towards one person and causes us to draw backward and inward in the presence of another.

And yet there is one element common to all the Hawaiian women which may give a hint of their power, for we cannot ignore the fact that some of the best blood of Boston runs in the veins of their children; that these women, only one degree from barbarism, became the wives of men whose education, talents, birth, and breeding would have made them welcome partners in many New England families.

This element is not beauty, but it is grace. As Mrs. Dominis moved through the misty mazes of the waltz there was nothing but grace in every movement, nought but the most bewitching attraction in every smile. She did not dance as the stately court lady: she threw her whole heart into the poetry of her motions; and, whosoever the partner opposite to her, you saw that she was in love with him — yes, at every glance of her flashing black eyes. I do not think of a woman, unless it was the dowager Queen Emma, who was more respected in Honolulu in every way at that time than the present deposed Queen of Hawaii. When she was in Boston I had the honor of a special invitation to meet

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her at a private reception given by Gov. Ames; and although twenty years makes much difference in the appearance of any one of us, I could see a little of that element that had caused her to be so noticeable when first we met.

Queen Emma, who has since died, was a half-caste, or the daughter of a native woman by a white father; her maiden name being Emma Rooke. A most lovely woman she was. I spent a most delightful evening at her house with no other visitors save the kind Hawaiian lady who had married my own second cousin, and was one of her retainers. Her story is too long to be repeated; briefly, she married one of the glorious old race of the Kamehamehas. He was a noble man in every sense of the word, but had a most violent temper, which was inherited by their only son, a beautiful boy, and in direct line to the throne. One day the boy had an uncontrollable fit of temper; the father, in one just as unjustifiable, said he would cool him off, and without further warning took the lad and plunged him into stone-cold water, and kept him there until he was cooled — so he said. The boy died almost immediately thereafter, and, according to the physicians, from no other cause. This utterly cut off the old historic line, for the Kamehamehas passed away very soon after the little prince was killed.

How differently would one of us manage all these events, were we in the place of Fate, Providence, or whatever you please to call the Ruler of All!

To any superficial observer, nay, to any thoughtful person, it would seem as though the woes of Hawaii began when the dynasty of the Kamehamehas failed; for although this particular monarch was rather unpopular with the missionary dynasty, yet none could deny the purity of life of the noble couple who sat on the throne; none could in the least detract from that which they were constantly doing for the welfare of their people. One of these moves had my strong sympathy: it was their attempt to make the English Church (what we would call the Episcopalian Church) the established Church of Hawaii. The old orthodoxy had failed to control the hearts of the warm-natured island race; they could not appreciate Dwight's theology; Jonathan Edwards, to their ears, was as much a mystery as to us the silent lips of the Egyptian sphinx; the necessity of never going unclothed, even in the hottest of tropic suns; the total depravity of a good swim indulged in by both sexes, just as our boys and girls are now skating together, — all these were to the native mind unexplainable, and somehow Puritanism had only succeeded in impressing them on the people to the same extent as that historic hostler had convinced his horse

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that shavings contained as much nutriment as hay: the people accepted the inevitable from their Caucassian rulers, and — died.

Queen Emma saw this. She understood her people. She had all the native's love for his land, all the Englishman's traditional love for his Church, and she said, "Oh, if I could put this people under the guardianship of that faith! Perhaps they may yet learn to love God and to live with each other as his children." So the Anglican Church, under Bishop Staley, went to the islands. It was what is called the High Church wing; and from one of its priests, Rev. Father Turner, I have heard some of the clearest and best statements of catholic truth which ever met my attention. It was one of the prettiest little churches I ever attended, and I was there a constant worshipper. But the mission was not a great success; there is now, I believe, a larger, finer house of worship, yet the Hawaiian people, for whom the beautiful queen introduced that form of the Christian faith, have never to any great extent been benefited by its ministrations.

When the queen visited this country, Rear Admiral Henry Knox Thatcher, one of the noblest of our ancient navy, grandson of General Knox, was ordered to take her and her suite from San Francisco to the Hawaiian islands on his flagship, the "Vanderbilt." She won the gallant old sailor's heart as easily as she had captured mine; and not only his, but those of his wife and daughter, who were on board. "How? On board a naval vessel?" asks some stickler for government discipline. Yes, the gallant admiral told me, with a sly twinkle in his eye, how this would be managed, and such was the fact: the accommodating queen simply took the two ladies as members of her suite; and the admiral's orders from his government directed him to convey the "queen and suite," and "a sailor, you know," said he, "always obeys orders." The same sweet simplicity of manners which I noticed, even when grief had clouded her brow, was there then. Naturally she sat next the admiral at the table, and one day there came up the question of the color of some unimportant matter. "Is it as black as I am?" asked the royal lady, without the slightest show of sensitiveness as to the fact that she was not of the purest strain. In care and love for her people — for much of the old feudal loyalty was left when we met — and in literary recreations, the queen herself told me that she found life still very dear.

Upon a nation incompetent to govern itself there would seem to be forced one of two alternatives, — to be ruled by aliens, or to be subject to anarchy. Before the advent of the white race the people were apparently in clans or tribes, under similar forms of government to that of the North

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American Indian. Nominally united under Kamehameha the Great, the real power was the missionary dynasty, which ruled the nation without interruption, save an occasional clash with the Roman Catholics, up to fifty years ago. Judged by their public record, these old heroes — for they were noble, well-meaning men — were firm believers in the union of Church and State. The community was governed as Moses governed the Hebrews. The dress, amusements, baths, food, drink, habits of the people, were all prescribed for them, and the New Englander not only believed in the laws founded on the Pentateuch, but believed in their enforcement.

The two most notable rulers were King Hiram and my Lord Judd, as we irreverent sailors called Rev. Hiram Bingham and Dr. Judd. I think there are descendants of the former now at the islands, and that if I should go there to-day I would find in the present chief justice the son of the old doctor, whom I had occasion to consult as a most intelligent young lawyer when I was in mercantile life on shore at Oahu. If one admires Cromwell and Knox, no better exponents of their character could be named than the two above mentioned. Mr. Bingham was an inmate of my father's house as a visitor when I was younger, and sang "From Greenland's icy mountains" to us in the Kanaka tongue, while with wide-open mouths we children looked into the stranger's face, and wondered at the uncouth sounds that came from his capacious lungs, used to open-air preaching amongst the mountains of Hawaii. As Dr. Judd was the agent and manager of a sugar plantation, I was often brought into contact with him, and in private life he was a most gentle, attractive man.

True to his early vows, often did I see him with a Chinese servant beside him, to whom, while awaiting a business call, he was teaching the letters of the English language. And, glorious old hero! what did he do when the government archives were in danger in 1843? Who but a Puritan, — a friend with his God, — believing that no superstition, nothing but his own sin, could harm him, would have thought of such a course? He took the invaluable record books and rushed to the royal tombs; there, free from interference from the native element, by reason of that long-inherited dread of the bodies of the dying and dead common to many people, equally free from the minions of Lord George Paulet, because they would never have thought of such a bureau of administration of government, the grand old man lived day and night, lying down to take his rest between the coffins, and by day using one for his table and another for his writing-desk. And it is the descendants of such men as these — for I have cited but two examples — that now constitute the

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Provisional Government; surely they cannot be treated as ambitious, political revolutionists, greedy for self-aggrandizement.

Yet it is a little singular that the most determined opponents of the early tyranny — for it was a tyranny more absolute than that of Russia — were the monarchical governments of Europe. The Puritanic powers had a way, whenever a French priest appeared, of doing just as our forefathers did in New England. They simply seized, not his property, for he had none — they seized him. What next? Not so far away was Mexico, a Roman Catholic land. They selected a brig, took the reverend fathers on board, and told the captain to put them ashore anywhere on the coast of Mexico. This was the summary manner in which the spread of the Roman Catholic faith was slightly obstructed for some years. But soon France, the eldest daughter of the Church, a nation which, in spite of our view of her, gained from Parisian romancers, has in the past given more for missions than all the other nations of Europe combined — France simply said that her citizens, whatever their faith, should not be thus treated. She did more than speak, she sent a frigate there (the "Artemesie"), who opened her gun ports and gave the missionary party just so long to receive the Roman Catholic missionaries on the same terms of religious equality as that enjoyed by the New England preachers.

It was not until 1840 that the kingdom had any constitution at all. The despotism of which our own people were the executors was the rule; and when the then ruling king, Kamehameha III., granted a constitution, it was based on that of Great Britain, not on that of our own Commonwealth. The Church dynasty (and by this I mean that of Messrs. Bingham, Judd, and their supporters) was virtually terminated, never to regain its old power, by the seizure of the islands by the British naval forces in 1843. It would appear from what I have heard of that event that there was great similarity between the action of the British minister, Mr. Charlton, who was very unfriendly to the United States, and that of Minister Stevens in 1893. I think British marines were landed under the same pretext, although I am writing from memory, not of those days, but of what I learned of them from those who witnessed the events. Then, as now, the reigning monarchy was deposed for some months, when the King was re-instated, and I have always understood that this was done by the representatives of Great Britain, France, and the United States of America; that here was a formal recognition of Hawaii as an independent nation, and that the three great powers above named bound themselves by solemn treaty, deposited in

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the royal archives of the infant government at the Island Kingdom, that neither one of them should ever destroy the liberty, limit the independence, or become the owners of the national life of the one then and there admitted to their fraternity. If this is true, were that treaty now found, it seems to me it ought to have some bearing on the present imbroglio. I am going out to the islands, and will immediately forward to you a clear, type-written copy of that treaty, made on my own machine, and guaranteed to be faithfully a transcript of the original document. The treaty is fifty years old, but I believe that one treaty is good until another is made.

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# TELEGRAPHIC ADVICES.

## SAN FRANCISCO'S VIEW.

SAN FRANCISCO, January 3, 1894.

No recent arrival from Hawaii, but revenue steamer "Corwin" hourly expected. Many merchants in this city could give unquestionable evidence, such as Hon. Horace Davis, ex-member Congress; Hon. Charles R. Bishop, for years and still the Hawaiian banker; H. W. Severance, for many years consul there; W. H. Bailey, the largest single owner of plantations; W. H. Dimond, late superintendent of Mint, and of the oldest shipping-house in the trade. Commissioner Blount declined to hear such witnesses, and entirely ignored San Francisco. He remained here but five hours, not even stopping at any hotel. The feeling is universal that he was sent as an attorney to make out a prearranged case, and returned with object attained. His Southern sympathies led him to oppose Boston families. No doubt whatever exists that he absolutely declined, both here and at Honolulu, to hear evidence from such men as those I name, even though some went from here to Hawaii with express purpose to give evidence. Annexation is contrary to the pecuniary interests of the sugar-planters, because sugar cannot be raised at a profit, except by Chinese or Japanese contract labor, which is forbidden by our statutes. Why, then, desire it? Because no other course appears possible by which provisional government can be transformed into permanent government. Those now ruling Hawaii do not desire dominion or power; yet how can their successors be chosen, and by whom shall they be elected? If vote were now taken, the Queen would be restored. Feudal loyalty in the Hawaiian race would insure the election of one of their blood. For like reason, the suffrage question will always be troublesome. The first move of Liliuokalani, if restored, would be the disfranchisement of whites. This was proposed by her abrogation of constitution, and this act, more than any other one move, was what precipitated revolution. Excepting Spreckels, men here are a unit that she shall never rule again. The labor question is that which makes him royalist.

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## SUGAR BOUNTY TO BLAME.

SAN FRANCISCO, January 6, 1894.

The revenue cutter "Corwin" from Honolulu arrived yesterday, but the captain refuses to answer a question, will not allow a Hawaiian newspaper to be delivered, nor give the date of leaving the islands.

President Cleveland's course has cost him many friends on this coast. The only partisans of his I know here are the Spreckels. Mr. J. D. Spreckels tells me to-day that the revolution was exactly what the President, in his official message, asserts, and further, that the whole trouble is owing to the McKinley Bill. He says that the planters thought the United States would readily assent to annexation; that the bill gives a bounty of forty dollars a ton on sugar produced on American soil; that the plantations raise from 300 to 14,000 tons of sugar each, and that to gain this profit was the sole motive of those now represented by the Provisional Government. He believes that the sugar-planters of the islands cared nothing for the Queen's character, nor had any reason to complain of her government, for just as soon as she found the constitution she had proposed not acceptable, she promptly and cheerfully withdrew it.

Mr. Spreckels assures me that annexation would ruin every planter on the island, for the sugar is now cultivated and the cane cut by Japanese, who work on a three or five years' contract. Thus the planter knows just what his sugar will cost him; but if subject to the tyranny of labor organizations and strikes, he would soon have to retire from business. Labor is the largest item in sugar culture. Without the sugar bounty, Mr. Spreckels is positive that there would have been no revolution. He claims that the Provisional Government has been just as arbitrary on their side as President Cleveland has been on his, and instances the fact that when the commission went to Washington to put annexation through, the Queen prayed to be allowed to send one commissioner on the steamer, the cost of which was drawn from her treasury, which request was refused.

But no person yet has been able to tell me any plan by which the government can be transformed into a republic, even with a limited suffrage, and this is the agonizing problem of the day at Hawaii.

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## FUTURE OF HAWAII.

SAN FRANCISCO, January 11, 1894.

In solving the problem of the future at Hawaii a small party here, represented by Spreckels, would like to see the islands independent, either under the restored monarchy or a republic, with extremely limited suffrage. Those in sympathy with the Provisional Government do not believe this feasible, because any half-caste demagogue can control a large majority of the Hawaiian people, and thus plunge the nation into anarchy for selfish ends.

These would like a protectorate, always supposing that annexation, their first choice, is rejected. They would be willing to rule in the name of some stronger power, to be responsible to that power on the one hand and to the Hawaiian settlement of natives and foreigners on the other.

In this way they could still make their own laws as to the introduction of contract labor, which of late years comes mostly from Japan, and is a vital question. Should they be successful in negotiating for a protectorate, the settlement of the labor question would secure them the Spreckels party as allies, for with him it is chiefly a pecuniary issue.

I have had peculiar facilities to obtain the sentiments of the naval officers. The Boston, Mohican, Alert, and Monterey are at Mare Island. In support of President Cleveland's policy there is more difference of opinion here than in the mercantile circle. But intense loyalty to the Chief Executive is characteristic of the navy. "I'm for the President, whether he is right or wrong," exclaimed one high in command to me; "for whatever he has done, or is doing, he has a good reason, you may be sure of that, and if he hadn't, that's none of my business."

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# ON THE WAY TO HAWAII.

"ALKALI rock and sage;" such description of the California poet and novelist, Bret Harte, must impress itself forcibly upon the tourist who crosses the continent on the Pacific Railroad. Was there ever a more forbidding, a more desolate, country? And yet man has conquered its difficulties; his indomitable will has not only constructed this long line of road, over which we smoothly glide, but before the iron horse had crossed these plains he was, here urged on by thirst for gold or buoyed up by religious enthusiasm; he followed the sun in its course westward, until he descended the Sierra Nevadas where they slope to the Golden Gate; that is, unless he was of the flock of the great Mormon leader, and stayed his pilgrimage or rested his weary limbs on the borders of the Great Salt Lake.

But while other men have labored, the traveller of to-day has entered into their labors, and in his easy-riding car, or reclining in the almost luxurious berth, he dines in Boston on Tuesday, reaching the western limit of his journey just as the church-going bell is from yonder tower summoning by its chimes the faithful to the worship of God. "*Adeste fideles!*" (oh, come all ye faithful!) such was the greeting which welcomed me to the city of San Francisco on this my fourth visit to the Pacific Slope.

The trip across is not without its dangers and attractions even to this day. Of the former let me say but little: there is no such word as danger to one in the path of duty; the pleasures of reading the great book of human nature can be leisurely enjoyed, where one feels that no time is lost and no duty neglected by the time devoted to its most careful study.

Of Hawaiian affairs, it would scarce be imagined that I could write you much that is new. The "Corwin" is daily expected, and will bring from thence the latest advices. Yet there are those in San Francisco who have been so closely identified with the islands for many years that what they say may be accepted as evidence in this perplexing case. It is to be regretted that Mr. Blount did not recognize their wish and privilege to be heard. How did the commissioner treat them? He simply ignored their existence. Instead of taking time in this city to listen to men of

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good judgment, removed from the temptation to serve private interests by identifying themselves with either party, Mr. Blount drove from the depot to the steamer on which, in five hours' time, he was on the way to the seat of war. There, his course was not unlike that of the attorney who makes out a case for a client: he heard those he wished to hear, and summoned none others. A gentleman who had large interests there, and who was, by marriage, of royalist connection, went to Honolulu for the express purpose of stating his views; but there was little opportunity to do so; a certain formal set of questions were propounded, to which the briefest replies were taken by the commissioner's stenographer.

Who are the reigning family? The trouble began with Kalakaua; it culminated in his sister, Mrs. Dominis, now the deposed Queen Liliuokalani; its success deprives of the succession to the throne her niece, Miss Cleghorn, the Princess Kaiulani. Up to thirty years ago there were two houses of Parliament, — the nobles nominated for life by the sovereign, the representatives chosen by the people. Later constitutions restricted this right of creating peers to six years, and consolidated the two houses into one legislative assembly. Kalakaua was an extravagant and weak-minded king, and (it is said) virtually relapsed into paganism; but when his sister succeeded him, she came to the throne under favorable auspices, yet firmly resolved to show more of the monarchical spirit than her predecessor, and restore the rights of sovereignty which recent constitutions had made more and more limited. She had the right to appoint ministers, but these could only be removed by the vote of the Assembly. The first act by which she alienated the affections of good men was by securing the removal of a ministry in which all had confidence, and appointing one of those of less purity and force of character. Her next mistake was the lottery bill, which was not a measure by which she was to be in any way profited, other than that the government would receive a fee for license. The real culprits here were, doubtless, those who have so long had their headquarters at New Orleans. The next move was the change in the constitution restoring old prerogatives, and at this attempt the monarchy was overthrown.

Annexation to the United States was the natural alternative, not as the result of conspiracy, but simply because such has been the long-cherished wish of many of the residents for years. It was always discussed; it was by many ardently advocated; and this seemed to be the time to propose it as a solution of the enigma of the future. Minister Stevens could not have done his duty to his government did he not consider it as the all-important question, and, so far as a representative abroad may advise the Executive, had he not clearly and frankly

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expressed his official opinion as to its possibility and expediency. It is not necessary to believe that he was a conspirator. It is far more probable that he was a sincerely honest man, acting for the best interests of his country. Nor is this at all inconsistent with the allegation that the landing of the marines from the "Boston" was a mistake. Strife is usually a succession of mistakes, and it would be well for us to stop right here and ask what is to be done, rather than to spend our time in the attempt to make political capital out of the mistakes of our brethren.

Who are the parties wronged by the Provisional Government? Not the native people: the men now in power have for years been the best friends of the natives, and will remain such; and yet just here would be the place to state the difficulty of submitting the question of their continuance in power to a popular vote. Led by those who represent royalty, the vote of Hawaii, if taken to-day, would, without the shadow of a doubt, restore to the throne the deposed Queen. How, then, can this be changed? By only one compromise, which would be to pension the Queen, and then to have her throw her influence in favor of the new republic. This would be by far the best solution of the difficulty; but it disinherits the charming young lady who won our gallant President's heart, and received the sweet sympathies of his amiable wife. Beauty in tears appeals to our gallantry, and the man who now and then finds himself led into foolishness by yielding thereto is far happier, far more easily forgiven, than he who can listen unmoved to a story that should touch his heart. Princess Kaiulani is a sweet and charming girl. Those of us who know the charms of these dark-eyed Hawaiian *houris* can perhaps explain the most easily the sudden withdrawal of a treaty which would have deprived her of her inheritance. Her guardian, Mr. Davies, is an astute British politician, and from the British has come and still comes the most obstinate objection to the supremacy of the United States at the island kingdom. Even after the republic is organized, should such be the solution, the difficulty of popular suffrage is a most serious one, for the native element, numerically the largest, will always be a tool in the hands of designing politicians. A property qualification for voting appears undemocratic, and yet that is about the only way of securing a legislative assembly which will have at heart the best interest of the country. An abdication on the part of Queen Liliuokalani, with immediate appointment of the Princess Kaiulani, was at one time advocated as the best solution of the affair. This would continue the monarchical form of government, yet under a queen of whom all speak in the warmest terms of a praise that is unqualified.

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# HAWAIIAN POLITICS.

I HAD supposed that at the time of the seizure of the Hawaiian islands by Sir George Paulet, and the British occupation of 1843, the treaty powers — Great Britain, France, and the United States — were bound to keep hands off for all time; but I have received the following letter from a legal gentleman of this city, which would seem to correct my impression. He says: —

"I have examined the treaties of the United States, and there is no such treaty with Hawaii as you supposed. The first treaty in the books is that of 1849, a long one. In this, Articles 8 and 9 give our citizens full rights to buy lands and houses, reside and do business in the kingdom, enjoy liberty of conscience and exemption from military service, forced loans, etc. The treaty of 1875 is one of reciprocity, and Article 4 contains the following covenant: —

"'It is agreed on the part of his Hawaiian majesty that so long as this treaty shall remain in force he will not lease or otherwise dispose of or create any lien upon any port, harbor, or other territory in his dominion, nor grant any special privilege or rights of use therein to any other person, State, or government, nor make any treaty by which any other nation shall obtain the same privileges relative to the admission of any articles free of duty, hereby assured to the United States.'

"The treaty of 1884 sustains the former treaties, and also contains the grant of an exclusive right to Pearl River on the island of Oahu for a repair and coaling station."

That would appear conclusive; yet I am still of the opinion that in examining the archives of government at Honolulu I shall find some evidence of a convention betwixt the representatives of the treaty powers by which each one of those powers is bound to sustain the independence of Hawaii, even as against the encroachments of the other two. Without abrogation of the above provisions it will even now be impossible for President Dole to make terms of protection and reciprocity with Great Britain.

The objections to a protectorate and the opposition to reciprocity have always come from the native element in the kingdom, for the Hawaiian

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race have that strong love for their land which is nowhere more conspicuous than where that land is in any sense under the heel of the stranger. In a debate to which I listened in the Hawaiian Parliament, this was very noticeable; the whites, with scarce an exception, speaking on the side of reciprocity, and the natives opposing them with arguments against conceding more to those numerically in the minority, yet before whose stronger intellect and superior executive ability their own people were declining as the grass goes down before the scythe of the mower. All proceedings in this assembly must be conducted in two languages, every speaker's words being repeated by the crown interpreter. At the time I visited the islands, this office was held by a half-caste, for whom all had the greatest admiration. His equal was not to be found in the kingdom, and having been an interpreter myself in at least four modern languages, I feel competent to hazard the declaration that it could not be surpassed in the world. Not a second's hesitation did he show when from the eloquent lips of Hon. Stephen H. Phillips there rolled forth one of those paragraphs such as the orators of former days, Everett, Webster, or Irving, loved to create. And when one of his own nation arose, and with all the native passion poured thick and fast the burning words which tyrants quake to hear, not only were they instantly repeated in our cooler Saxon, but the very gestures of the speakers were in both instances preserved and repeated. Poor Bill Ragsdale! The last time we met he accosted me in the street, and asked for some simple information. He was dressed in spotless white cashmere, and a silk handkerchief bound across his noble brow showed the cause of his recent sojourn in the chain-gang. For, in common with his people, there were certain matters of conduct and of morals where Mr. Ragsdale could not conform to the laws of good society, and now and then, when his offence was too rank, he was arrested and punished like an ordinary subject. But then the chariot wheels of the King dragged heavily, and the halls of debate were more stupid to both parties than one of the great stone meeting-houses of a long Sunday afternoon. Finally, some member boldly moves a free pardon to Mr. William Ragsdale, now serving out a sentence for drunkenness and assault; unanimously carried, signed by the King as quickly as a messenger could reach the royal chamber, and shortly after, in a clean, an immaculate toilet, Mr. Ragsdale is in the interpreter's box, and on the swift-moving current of his fluent speech the affairs of the nation resume their interest for the National Assembly.

His last speech at Honolulu was made under the most touching circumstances. Leprosy had seized him. He could have kept it a secret,

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perhaps, for months; but he arranged all his affairs for a living burial. Then, summoning those who had known and loved him during his career, he threw the whole force of his passionate soul into a farewell address, and strong men wept like babes as he bade them adieu, to remain at the leper settlement for the remainder of his days.

Oh, how much that gives warmth and interest to human life is lost by the self-control and the coldness of our Saxon temperament, especially in such as that of the inhabitants of Boston! On a bark in which I was interested, there were as passengers two of the suite of Queen Emma, a native chieftain and his wife, — about as fine specimens of man and woman as any with whom my lot was ever cast. They had been travelling in many lands after the return of their royal mistress to where the cocoa-palm threw its shadow on her home. Soon after the vessel was made fast to the wharf, it was noised abroad that they were on board, and their retainers came to welcome them back — with cheers and noisy demonstrations? Oh, no! Bowing to the deck the moment they approached the cabin door, one after another, they bent their heads in the presence of their chief. Then, in a most peculiar step, not crawling, yet moving along with exquisite grace close to the deck, they came in succession to where they could touch the princely hand, and washed it with their tears. Never have I seen so sweetly melting a scene. Had the grand old Scotchman, Thomas Carlyle, been in my place, he would certainly have added another chapter to his "Heroes and Hero Worship."

And this is the people whose nationality we would extinguish. This is the people which must yield its soil, its customs, its very life to us, because we are intellectually stronger, and the islands are a necessity to the commerce of the world. Examples might be multiplied even to weariness. There was the old story of the Hawaiian queen, who, to destroy once and forever the faith of the people in the fire-god, made the proclamation that she herself would brave Pélé's anger; and so, on a day when the fires of Mauna Loa were specially rampant, at a time when the sea of liquid fire was boiling in Kilauea, she, alone and unprotected from the flames, went, like Moses, the man of God, down, down into the very bowels of the earth, into the sulphurous vapors of the seething crater. And the people stood and lamented the sacrifice of the royal victim to the spirit of fire, as the maidens in the old story mourned for the daughter of Jephthah. But, forth from the altar of sacrifice came the triumphant queen, and from that day to the present the power of Pélé over the native mind was gone and gone forever.

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I do not wonder that Father Damien loved this race. It is with no loss of dignity that our own brethren mingle with them. They won the hearts of such men as James Jackson Jarves, Richard H. Dana, Bishops Staley and Hopkins, Charles Warren Stoddard, Edward Clifford, and scores of men as intelligent, but whose names are not as widely known. They must not be judged by the standard to which the civilized world very generally conforms. It is as impossible for some of the best of both sexes to realize the turpitude of certain offences against morality, as it would be for us to conform with the heart to the Mosaic law regarding our food and drink, supposing that a powerful army should land in Boston to-day, and force upon us its observance. We might be constrained to public compliance in order to avoid arrest, but our consciences would not reproach us if we ate our oysters or our pork and beans in secret. The Hawaiians, even in the pre-European days, were never cannibals, or believers in human sacrifices.

But why should the American people take such an all-absorbing interest in the Hawaiian question? There are several very good reasons. In the first place, the Provisional Government is made of bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh. This is true not only of the physical descent of these men; it is true of the spirit also. There lives in the heart of President Dole the very throbs which moved the heart of Washington. His supporters but re-echo that cannon-shot, the report of which was heard round the world. They are not rebels for personal gain against a rule which should be respected; they are striving to supplant misrule with those self-same principles which have made this the golden age.

Again, great battles are won or lost at strategic points, and we cannot ignore the fact that Hawaii is the La Haye Sainte on which depends the day at Waterloo. By some of those who best knew James G. Blaine it is asserted that, although his head lies low in an unmarked grave, his soul is marching on to Hawaii. Ex-Minister Stevens is said to be a bequest to American diplomacy from the dead Secretary of State. For he — Mr. Blaine — had all that love for the acquisition of territory which is found in kindred minds — in Alexander, in Napoleon, in those prime ministers of Britain who have been determined that the westward shadow of the tree-top should never be on other than the dominions of the Queen. And so the great chieftain of the Republican party saw, in imagination, the day when, from the trade-wind region of the Caribbean to the frozen sea of the North, from the Isthmus of Panama to Greenland's icy mountains, there should be but one government and but one

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flag — the starry banner — for whose entirety millions had died, whose unity does certainly represent principles well worth martyrdom. Then, the continent including all climates, producing all that could be needed by its inhabitants, the iron wall of protection could be built around us, and the arguments of free trade would be sunk in the moat of the oceans of the Atlantic and Pacific. Let us once abandon our policy of non-interference and non-annexation, and all this will be possible to our descendants.

Against this are arrayed the calm, clear arguments of the able Executive who now holds the helm of the ship of state: perfect freedom of intercourse with foreign nations, but they shall still be the lands of the stranger; perfect protection to the lives and property of our fellow-citizens resident there, as long as they are Americans, but no sides to be taken by us in any local quarrel, even if one party is exclusively of our own blood.

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# THE HAWAIIAN SITUATION.

In one of the first of my present series of letters mention was made of a treaty made some fifty years ago by which it was agreed that neither Great Britain, France, nor the United States should ever acquire any title to the Hawaiian islands. The occasion of such agreement was the forcible occupation of the islands by Sir George Paulet, commanding Her Majesty's ship "Carysfort." The trouble was the alleged oppression on the part of the missionary dynasty of British subjects, the consul of that kingdom having been rejected in his official capacity; in certain private matters, his property was under civil attachment; further, other British citizens resident there, or mariners, had been arrested, confined in irons; and with that promptness always shown by Britain in redressing the wrongs of the humblest of her citizens, the guns of a man-of-war were soon in readiness to belch forth the lion's wrath upon the offending king. The real offender was, doubtless, Dr. G. P. Judd, who was practically the supreme ruler of the kingdom at this time. It is from his family that many of the present dynasty originate. He had a large family of children. Hon. H. A. P. Carter, late Hawaiian minister at Washington, was his son-in-law; Chief Justice Judd of the islands is his son. The British captain declined to hold any communication whatsoever with Dr. Judd, and, after a long correspondence, a note of four lines informed the government that, at four P.M. of the following day, the ship would open fire upon the town. The result of this was the provisional cession of the kingdom of Hawaii to Great Britain, and its occupation as a colony of that power. A protest was made by the King, and forwarded to Washington. John Tyler was then President and Daniel Webster Secretary of State. The means of communication were limited to sailing vessels, and the British Government continued in power at the islands from February 25, 1843, to the following August, when the rear admiral commanding the squadron of the Pacific restored to the King his sovereignty. In the mean time, Mr. Webster had not been idle, and he, like our honored

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President, sent out a commissioner. But it would appear that Mr. Tyler did not assume to appoint this official on his own responsibility, for in his letter of instructions there occurs this phrase: "Congress having complied with his [the President's] suggestion, by providing for a commissioner to reside at the islands, you have been chosen for that purpose."

These instructions are not unlike those which would be given by an executive to such a deputy to-day, for there was much that is parallel in the situation: the King was deposed, a Provisional Government was ruling wisely and well.

But, while there is no record that the home government ever disowned the acts of her navy, or that she ever in the least apologized for the occupation of the island kingdom, it is certain that it was made an international question between herself and her always jealous neighbor, France. It is further certain that from that day to the present, whatever the reigning family at Hawaii, no power has been more respected than that of Great Britain, and to none of her subjects or officials has the least indignity been offered.

What the position of the United States was then and thereafter I am, at this writing, unable to state; but my assertion was correct in regard to the action of both Great Britain and France; and I now have the satisfaction to subjoin a copy made from official records of the convention, by which the present Provisional Government are forever debarred against placing themselves under the patronage or protectorate of Her Majesty, the Queen. This, it seems, could only be effected if France were invited to be a party to the arrangement, and her consent was made a part of the cession. This she will not willingly give. She now holds the Society Islands. Tahiti is her Pacific Ocean coaling and naval station. She will doubtless insist on the validity of this convention, and not fail to notice that the word "never" means "*jamais*," and it cannot be otherwise translated. Therefore, in our ancient ally of 1776, we have a bondsman that Great Britain cannot raise permanently the cross of St. George in Hawaii.

Here is the treaty to which I referred: —

*Declaration of Great Britain and France relative to the Independence of the Sandwich Islands, London, November 28, 1843.*

Her Majesty, the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty, the King of the French, taking into consideration the existence in the Sandwich Islands of a government capable of providing for the regularity of its relations with foreign

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nations, have thought it right to engage reciprocally to consider the Sandwich Islands as an independent State, *and never to take possession, either directly or under the title of protectorate, or under any other form, of any part of the territory of which they are composed.*

The undersigned, Her Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the Embassador Extraordinary of His Majesty, the King of the French, at the Court of London, being furnished with the necessary powers, hereby declare, in consequence, that their said Majesties take reciprocally that engagement.

In witness thereof, the undersigned have signed the present declaration, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done in duplicate at London, the twenty-eighth day of November, in the year of our Lord 1843.

ABERDEEN.
ST. AULAIRE.

While not exactly a treaty, this has all its binding force, and I was certainly not far from truth, when it is considered that I was writing solely from memory. Brother Miner may conclusively demonstrate to me that Gehenna was no more than the Scriptural synonyme for Chelsea, being, in fact, but a suburb of Jerusalem. I shall still hold, as I always have held, that if there is no hell in that life which is to come, I shall be perfectly able to construct one for myself, providing I have failed in my duty in the present warfare of the life that now is. Further, unless the gift of memory is withdrawn, that hell with me will be everlasting, for I shall never be able to forget. In thirty years' miscellaneous contributions to the press, often severely attacked, the essential truth of my statements has never been impeached.

The great question which now stares the Provisional Government in the face is this: "How can the community over which we are unchallenged rulers be transformed from a temporary government into a permanent government? How, and by whom, shall our successors be elected or named?"

The wisest men, those most interested for the prosperity and peace of the islands, fervent Christian men, who wrestle in prayer to God with all the solemnity so well described by Macaulay in his essay on the Puritans, read that question, and with a little less than agony in their tones, reply, —

"I cannot answer; God only knows; it is the great, the serious question of the present; it is the great shadow in the portentous future."

The American people cannot understand nor appreciate this terrible dilemma, for it is now causing wakeful nights to hundreds of our own

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flesh and blood, and nearly driving to insanity their loving wives. Why? They have taken the bull by the horns — that unreasonable creature now representing the uneducated people. They are strong enough to hold him, but when, how, and what, if they in the least relax their hold?

This is the sole reason for which many of them desire annexation. "We will let go any minute," say they; "we do not wish for power, position, or dominion; just take us and those we now control as national wards, and make your own terms for the cession."

Annexation is against the pecuniary interests of the planters, for the reason that sugar cannot be raised there without the cheap contract labor of the Asiatic. This can, under our statutes, be no longer admitted. But without the intervention of a superior power, must it not be forever an armed despotism, the government by an aristocratic minority of a great ignorant majority? When the native of Europe emigrates to our land, if not in the first, at farthest at the second generation, he desires to learn of our principles and institutions. The Hawaiian is not unlike the Chinaman: he has all the indolence of the tropical races, and even were it granted, he cannot in a republic of universal suffrage be trusted with a vote, which counts exactly the same as that of President Dole. If the question were now put to vote, the present deposed queen would be restored by an overwhelming majority. Her first official act would doubtless be to repeat the attempt which cost her the throne. This was the virtual disfranchisement of the white population. These men own millions of property there which represent the work not only of a single lifetime, but of generations. Could they, ask their San Francisco correspondents, submit to taxation with no representation?

This reminds me to reiterate my assertion that Commissioner Blount most certainly treated San Francisco with most shabby and inexcusable neglect. Such men as Hon. Horace Davis, president of the Flour Trust of the coast, formerly member of Congress and supporter of Cleveland's silver policy; Hon. Charles R. Bishop, for years the George Peabody of Hawaii, whose wife was one of the old Kamehamehas; Hon. H. W. Severance, for two generations holding high office under government, his father being a resident commissioner and the United States consul; General W. H. Dimond, late superintendent of United States Mint and Hawaiian shipping merchant, and many others, while resident here, have immense interests at stake — the two last-named were born at Hawaii. Now Mr. Blount utterly ignored San Francisco in his investigation, and the citizens here are practically a unit that he was sent out as an attorney to make a

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prearranged case for President Cleveland's side, and absolutely refused to hear anything which should militate against that specific case. There is not the least doubt of the truth of the assertion that men high in power and influence almost begged him to hear them, and that he was firm in his refusal to allow them to appear.

This course of Mr. Blount's has made the President enemies in the very house of his friends, and those who once believed in him now boldly impeach his motives. I said to one of these — his former supporters — yesterday, that we must judge our honored Executive by his public utterances, and that certainly his message on this very matter was a clear, cool, and masterly statement of his policy, containing not the least hint of armed interference; to which the reply was made that this message was a mere afterthought; that it was Mr. Cleveland's purpose to use all the naval power of the United States to reseat a corrupt queen upon a rotten throne. This is excessively unjust to one of the best Presidents that has ever lived in the White House; but this is a sample of the criticisms to which Mr. Blount has subjected him. The only safe man to send there would have been one acquainted with the history and peculiarities of the island race and their rulers. I am certain that, had I not lived there and kept up for twenty years past my acquaintance with them, I could never have understood the situation. There are some humorous phases of the matter. That the paragrapher should play upon the fascinations of Miss Cleghorn, and depict the sweet sympathy offered to the Princess Kaiulani by the amiable Mrs. Cleveland, would appear but natural; but it would surprise Eastern people to know how general is the impression amongst those who recognize the peculiar attractiveness of the Hawaiian race that this sweet, good, and beautiful girl of eighteen has more to do with our dilemma than is ordinarily credited to her agency or to her visit to Washington.

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# SPRECKELS AND HAWAII.

When we were boys, we availed ourselves of a neighboring heap of bricks for a very innocent sport: this consisted in placing on end a long line of these, if possible in intricate windings, then touching the first one erected, and seeing the one fall on the other in the speedy toppling over of them all. Now, a mistake is very like that first brick: the only way to avoid the fall of the last is never to touch the first. The Hawaiian business is a series of blunders, apparently on the one side and on the other; but, with all their selfishness, Messrs. J. D. Spreckels & Co. have presumed to name to me the initial mistake. Shall we ever get to the end of the mischief worked by the McKinley Bill? Mr. Spreckels is positive that had that measure never been initiated, there would have been no revolution at Hawaii. Let us first have an introduction to this great mercantile establishment. In brief, who are they?

Years ago, when I was residing at San Francisco, Claus Spreckels, the father, was an honest brewer, doing business in a very small way on one of the by-streets of this great city; but it seems in his native land he had also understood something of the process of refining sugar. There was a good-sized refinery in operation there at that time. But Mr. Spreckels had a secret of his own by which he could take the sugar that the rival establishment used, refine it, and put it on the market at one cent a pound cheaper than that produced by his neighbor, all the time making a profit for himself. In due time he drove his rival to treat with him as a purchaser, and became sole proprietor of the business for the Pacific Coast. Sugar could not be imported to compete with him, for the cost of transportation would render it too dear a commodity. Now, Mr. Spreckels had only to employ clerks to figure out the daily growth of his business and the increasing amount of his bank account. But he was not satisfied with having forced the inhabitants west of the Rocky Mountains to depend on him for every drop of sweetness in their cups, he went to Philadelphia and tried the same tactics, and soon the sugar magnates of the East found themselves in the same position as that in which he had placed the California refinery: that one cent a pound meant bankruptcy to them and profit to Mr. Spreckels. Either they must buy his refinery in Philadelphia, or they must sell him theirs at a

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tremendous loss. For a long time Mr. Spreckels refused to treat with them; but, finally, five millions, which they raised to pay their rival's passage back to San Francisco, brought him to terms, and he returned to California.

But here his restless energy did not tire. He bought lands at Hawaii, until he was not only the largest refiner in the world, but the largest producer of sugar. He sent to Philadelphia and built ocean-going steamships in which to bring his raw materials, so that he literally pays no profit to any one but the firm of J. D. Spreckels & Co. The New Zealand Government pays him a large subsidy a year to continue the route of his ships past the islands to Auckland. He became friends with the Hawaiian Government at once, and got the crown lands for a song. To make use of his name to show his standing, he certainly has his Claus on everything there from which a dollar can be realized. The firm consists of the father and some three or four sons. It is organized as the Hawaiian Commercial Company, and as J. D. Spreckels & Co., but under whatever name he operates, his profits are just as sure and sweet.

Years ago, in times similar to the present, a relief committee went to a Boston merchant, who shall be nameless, for a subscription. He received them courteously, but responded, "Why, gentlemen, I cannot afford it. All my investments are paying less now, and I have $200,000 lying right round in the State Street banks which amount does not pay me a dollar." How much, on the testimony of his own broker, had Mr. Spreckels in like position, think you? About seven millions. One son rebelled about something in the management of the business, and the people thought they were to have all the private history of the concern in the columns of their morning papers; but, within a day or two, when the case was called for trial, a long list of lawyers came smiling to the bar, and each and every interest waived further proceedings, saying that all had been amicably settled. Further, no one of them, nor their clients, will give the least information as to what the arrangement was. Mr. J. D. Spreckels, the manager-in-chief, is, socially and in business, one of the most agreeable men to meet. He has a way of going at once to the bottom of things, and, without any equivocation, stating the very root or ground of the matter in dispute. And so, in the present troubles at Hawaii, he says that it requires but a glance at the McKinley Bill to define the cause of the revolt. That unfortunate measure offered a bounty of two cents a pound on sugar grown on American soil. The planters thought that the United States would eagerly embrace their offer of annexation; then all the plantations became instantly American soil, and each planter would be entitled to the bounty on his whole crop

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of sugar. Now, as I write, I foresee the scorn of those who would sneer at a profit of one cent a pound; but let them figure it out as, in our schooldays, we figured the cost of the horse whose price was fixed by the number of nails in his shoes. It was one cent a pound which forced the California refinery into the hands of its rival; it was one cent a pound which obliged the Sugar Trust to raise five millions; it is two cents a pound which has made revolution in Hawaii, and embarrassed two successive administrations at Washington. There are no small things in life. Let us see to how much it amounts: the plantations produce from three hundred to fourteen thousand tons of sugar annually; therefore a fair average would be a plantation of seventy-five hundred tons. Two cents a pound is, on the short ton, forty dollars per ton, and for seventy-five hundred tons, this makes an annual difference in the balance-sheet of the planter of just $300,000 in his favor. And when you realize that this is no monopoly, that, from the small investor to the large owner, the return will come in like proportion, you begin to see why the commission bearing the annexationists was hurried off to Washington by the unanimous voice of the sugar interests. Queen Liliuokalani begged and prayed to be allowed to send one commissioner on the steamer, the cost of whose coal was paid out of her royal treasury, but she was flatly refused this privilege. Had the President's eyes been opened to the immense interests at stake when those men were urging him to favor annexation, perhaps the good sense of Benjamin Harrison would have prevailed, and his message to Congress would have been couched in other terms. Mr. Spreckels thinks that the cool, clear head of Grover Cleveland has seen through all the professions of patriotism and Americanism on the part of the revolutionists, that our present honored Executive is right from first to last, and that gain, desired for gain and nothing else, was the cause of the seizure of the government of the Hawaiian kingdom by those now in power.

The annexationists had supported their views by those opinions of our Presidents and statesmen which have for years appeared in messages or reports of the Secretary of State, notably the words of Daniel Webster. But they failed to remember that the dream of such men was to see the United States a great commercial nation, while it has become, under the management of those who have excluded foreign-built ships from the privileges of our flag at a time when the building material was changing from wood to iron, a country of no commercial importance. The annexationists are confined to the New England States and to the Pacific seaboard; they may have some allies in New York. Who are their opponents? First, the long-established conservative policy of the

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country, which has always declined to receive, even as Territories, foreign colonies. It was this, and this alone, which defeated the cession to the Union of Samana Bay, San Domingo, in General Grant's administration. The South might have favored that move; it must oppose this because Hawaii, by its products, becomes a rival to Louisiana and Georgia. Is it surprising that Mr. Blount of Georgia should advise the President to recall the annexation treaty? Then there is the great West, settled by a people who have no idea whatsoever of commerce or navigation, many of whom never saw the ocean, all of whom care absolutely nothing for ships and sailors. I remember once hearing a distinguished preacher say that the armor of indifference was the hardest phase of resistance to overcome. To this we may add the Sugar Trust, who, having been already severely worsted in their contest with Spreckels, will certainly oppose anything which gives an additional advantage to the power which now owns one-third the surgar-growing lands of Hawaii. Those lands becoming American soil, with the McKinley bounty, it is not impossible that the indefatigable German might be able to refine his sugar at Honolulu, or send it by steam around Cape Horn in its raw state, thus using the five-million payment to torment his old rivals.

To all these influences against annexation there is but one element in opposition which may be considered at all powerful; it is this: the strife between the great political parties. Should the Republicans make the question a test of loyalty to Ex-President Harrison, and the Democrats be equally firm that the course of President Cleveland must be sustained, a general victory of the first-named at the next presidential election would mean annexation for the Hawaiian islands should these then desire it.

If the Provisional Government's rule should be as satisfactory in the future as it has been hitherto, it is not impossible that we may experience the truth of the old rhyme, —

> "He who will not when he may,
> When he will shall have 'Nay.'"

For annexation, as Mr. Spreckels tells me, involves the islands in trouble as soon as the present labor contracts have expired. Of late years the largest supply to the Hawaiian labor market has come from Japan, the sugar plantations being now largely cultivated by natives of that empire. Their mother country would relish excessively the addition of these islands to her domain. It would afford her a glorious opportunity to rid herself of her superfluous population, and her laboring class would be sure of employment the moment she landed them at Honolulu. She has one man-of-war on that station.

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# THE HAWAIIAN REVOLT.

It is surprising to one who dwells in that democratic ward to notice how little many Bostonians know of the part of Boston lying toward the sea, easterly from Post Office Square. As one of my windows looks on to the long flight of stone steps which mounts to the acme of the politician's ambition, — the collector's seat of the Boston Custom House, — visitors frequently demand of me the name of that beautiful stone building.

Years ago there were three buildings in Boston, of which it was said, at the time of their erection, that they would stand until the day of judgment should dawn. These were the Boston Custom House, the Merchants' Exchange, and the building standing at the corner of Battery-march and Milk Streets. The two latter have already been removed, and it will not be many years before the first-named must follow its contemporaries. The day of small, low buildings has passed away.

There were many reminiscences of the Exchange. There will be many of the Custom House, with its half-century or more of political associations; but I have failed to see any in print of the site of the new Exchange Club, the home of which is rapidly approaching completion. Yet on that place was the grandest mercantile house which ever existed in this city, managed by a merchant whose executive ability was, in the opinion of his compeers, second to none in the world.

To go back farther still, in the early part of the present century, opposite Merchants Row, on State Street, was Deacon Proctor's hardware store. My father entered it as little more than a boy. The deacon's theology was as cold and unyielding as the material which formed the basis of his stock in trade. It was not unusual — in fact, it was the general rule in 1830 — for a mercantile house to be either Unitarian or Orthodox, and in hiring help, even to the errand boy, the religious affiliations of the applicant were first considered. If these were contrary to the principles of the house, that settled negatively the application, whatever other testimonials of fitness might be offered.

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The concern passed through many changes of title. Proctor, Palmer & Co., Proctor, Palmer & Felt, Proctor, Butler & Co., Butler, Keith & Hill, Butler & Sise, and Butler & Johnson are some of the styles which occur to me now. My father retired from the firm in 1837, with an engagement never again to enter the hardware business in Boston; hence, after a brief experience as agent of a Sheffield firm, crossing the Atlantic on a packet ship, he became partner with Hon. Thomas A. Davis, mayor of Boston, and then in the jewelry trade.

The grand ally of good, orthodox Deacon Proctor was the American Board. By their needs, the export trade in all articles, but notably in hardware, started from Boston. The part of the world which was the largest customer was the promising missionary country of the Sandwich Islands, as the kingdom of Hawaii was then universally called. The deacon's account was sure to be paid, for, until a comparatively recent date, all shipments were charged to the Pemberton Square house, although the goods were shipped direct to the missionaries.

But the business altogether outgrew its quarters, so a contract was made with the Thorndike estate for the erection of the grand building which has just been destroyed in order to make room for a grander. It was the strongest built house of merchandise in the city, and the export trade was increased and carried on there by Peter Butler, to a degree and with a success which is not equalled even at the present day. Noble ships, ably commanded, fully manned, American from truck to keelson and from captain to cabin boy, carried our goods to every part of the globe, and there were few clearing from Boston but what took part of their cargoes from that massive granite structure just demolished by the hand of improvement.

I am writing of that which I know. It was in that building that I took my very first lessons in mercantile life. No salaries were paid to the boys. It was only by favor that one could get admittance there, and the best families in Boston repeatedly applied to Mr. Butler for the appointment of some youth to the first vacancy. The hours were long, and the work exacting. Each salesman had a boy and a porter. It was Mr. Butler's instructions that no customer should be permitted to leave the store in search of any article whatever, no matter how foreign to our stock in trade, that all his customers should thus learn to depend upon him to supply every need; so the salesman had a boy to trot from one end of the city to the other to find such things as the buyer had wanted, but which were not in stock. In this way the firm kept a customer from opening an account with a rival concern. Sometimes the

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shipments were enormous and sometimes almost ludicrous. A thousand stand of arms to a foreign potentate — some little power of South America — is an example of the former. Of the latter it occurs to me to mention that most important requirement of a Protestant missionary; namely, a wife. The concern was equal to the emergency, and the next packet which sailed for Honolulu took out that joy of the missionary's hearth and home, her outfit, passage money, and all her belongings going through Mr. Butler's ledger. Her safe arrival was duly chronicled, and the debtor discharged himself of the claim of the shipper. Whether the goods wore well or proved unsatisfactory will never be known. It was one of those cases where no return to the exporter was possible.

Mr. Butler himself was often at his desk by quarter-past seven. We were on the twelve-hour system then, and were never dismissed until that hour in the evening. After this I had to take the keys of the store to his house on Bowdoin Street, to which place I went at half-past five in the morning the year round, so as to have the doors of the store open at six. In order to see that none of us were absent at the time of closing, the cry "Call over the waste!" rang through the store at seven P.M., and the pretence of reading aloud the list of cash sales for the day served to assemble us all, some sixty in number, in the counting-room. It was then that we were reprimanded or directed by the partners, of which there were six. Of these, I think, Mr. Butler, Messrs. Johnson, Dudley, and Sise are still living. The sales of the concern amounted to about one million annually, which was an immense business. The first decline in the prosperity of the establishment was at the outbreak of the war. The final settlement came after the great Boston fire, at which date the firm had left its ancient warehouse, and had a store in the burnt district.

I have thought a little sketch of such a house would be interesting, not only as a bit of local history, but because it is one of a chain of events which has led up to the present crisis in Hawaii. And the reason is this: at first, all merchandise dealings were with the American Board; but the hand of the New England Yankee can never lose its cunning, and in the course of years the Sandwich Island missionary turned planter or merchant. There are those in ecclesiastical line at the Hawaiian islands of missionary birth, but the majority of the descendants of those who went there to preach the Gospel are now the politicians and planters and shipping merchants of Hawaii. Further, when I was a resident there, the old stock was some of it living, and where were some of those early exponents of the Gospel to be found? Not in the

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pulpits, but behind the counter, in the counting-room, or on the sugar plantation. As one of the oldest and best told me in so many words: "I was for years on a missionary's salary, just enough to keep my soul in my body; then the growing family I had, my duty to them and to my old age, led me to resign, and go into sugar and trade." The reasoning may be good, the duty may be obvious, but yet, in the light of the original purposes of the American people in going there, it must be considered as an unfortunate combination of circumstances.

And this is now thrown into the teeth of the Provisional Government and its supporters to-day.

"You came here," say the Hawaiians, "with but one avowed purpose — to teach us, you said, of that God who made of one blood all mankind. We listen to you. First, you directed our rulers. It was you who forbade our native sports, our free use of the ocean, the free use of our own limbs, the right to play if we wished, not six, but seven days in the week; you virtually seized our government through the elder Judd, who resigned nominally from your ministry that he might own our king, and it was only the guns of England and France that forced you to relax in that form your hold; you then began more craftily; you followed the course of your Puritan predecessors with the aborigines of New England — you acquired by foreign capital all our best lands; we gave you a voice in our government, although you were the pettiest of numerical minorities; and now, having decimated us from 200,000 to 40,000 by your rigorous civilization, you hurl our queen from her throne, drive each and all of us from power, and take away our name from its place amongst the nations of the earth. And you do all this in the name of religion, in the name of the Master you have told us counselled to his followers poverty and chastity and obedience to authority."

Now, has not the intelligent native a case against us stronger than that of the American Indian? What right have we on his ancestral soil, anyhow? If he desires a queen who represents manners to which he has been for centuries accustomed, what have we to say about it? We are foreign residents under a titular dynasty. If we do not like our rulers, they can naturally say to us, Go elsewhere. The only possible answer to such questions as these is that old assertion that might makes right.

A disciple of Jean Jacques Rousseau must be infinitely satisfied at the present aspect of affairs. To him, the islands, before the advent of civilization, represented Paradise. An occasional paragraph assumes that they were cannibals, which is absolutely false. They were, by the most trustworthy accounts, a simple, peaceful, happy people, with pagan

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practices, in which superstition showed far more than cruelty. Although from some of their habits, in which they saw not the least sin, we might infer that they could not have been a healthy people, yet the contrary was the fact. The universal use of sea-water, in which they lived as freely as they breathed the open air, kept both sexes in splendid health. It was only when the habits of civilization were introduced that the long train of its diseases followed. To the native race the coming of the white race was, according to this view, as great a misfortune as that which the landing on the continent of the early settlers of North America brought to the red men.

How much of truth, how much of mere partisanship, there is in the above impeachment shall be judged by each reader. It will be observed that my informant says not a word against the motives or the character of our missionaries; no one could, for a nobler band of men and women, even to the third generation, never existed since the world began. They were the very flower of that Christian army whose progenitors were the Pilgrims of Plymouth. The first question to such men was and is to this day, "Is it right or wrong?" To them there is no mean between these extremes; there is nothing in life too insignificant to need application to that touchstone. But, for this reason, their mistakes are terrible, since these are not the result of blind impulse, but stern conviction. Did they make one when they seized the kingdom of Hawaii? Is the long train of dilemmas into which their course has plunged two nations a proof of the truth of their Master's words, "But I say unto you that ye resist not evil?"

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# WAIFS FROM THE PACIFIC.

It will be many months before those interested in the welfare of the Pacific Coast will forgive President Cleveland his management of the revenue cutter "Thomas Corwin." When I was doing business at the islands, it was the universal custom for every vessel, government, sailing-ship, or steamer, to give due notice to the postmaster of her intention to clear the port. This was at once conspicuously advertised, and a mail was made up by the authorities to send by such departure. Now, long-established custom gives an authority to precedents which no public man can safely ignore. That which was a privilege becomes by constant usage a right, and Mr. Cleveland (for, by whoever ordered, the cutter is assumed to have carried out his will), in ignoring this right, belonging equally to Hawaiians and to the American people of this coast, has estranged his friends and embittered his enemies; for it was a flagrant outrage. The vessel belongs to the American people. Under the control of their chief Executive, it is still true that it was the "Corwin's" business to have done everything in the present crisis to relieve their agonizing suspense, and to have at least informed them of the condition of affairs. But she came in almost as a vessel of a power with whom we were at war, and she has sneaked in and out amongst the islands and through the straits of the bay, since her arrival, as though she were a smuggler avoiding confiscation. I had private information what would be her action, so I did not board her at the Golden Gate. But those representatives of the press who, in discharge of their duty to the public, attempted this, narrowly escaped with their lives. Their boats were cut adrift in the most critical moments, and, had not a friendly coasting steamer succored them at the right time, there would have been loss of life. They concentrate all the vials of their wrath, not on the captain (it might have been his orders to fire on them), but on the chief Executive of the nation, for whom Captain Munger was acting.

It is singular to see how events the most distant are brought into connection by the ever-moving, endless chain of circumstances. The

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Hawaiian difficulties have aroused renewed interest in the transit by canal across the isthmus at Nicaragua, and the necessity of having that route under the control of the United States. An American company now has the franchise, and is doing just enough work to keep its charter from a lapse. But if the supporters of President Cleveland wish to recover the prestige which he has lost in the Pacific States, — if that gentleman himself has any desire to regain popularity on this coast, a better move could not be made than to put the whole force of the administration at work to foster the attempt to complete this canal, or even to take it from the present projectors at a fair price, and continue it as a government work.

Starting from the Pacific side, an easy ride of ten miles by mule-train brings you to water transportation; there, a change is made to light-draft steamer, and the rest of the crossing, save where one has to go around the rapids, is possible, even at the present time, either over the lake, or by its tributary rivers. Thus, nature herself has prepared the way, and a little of that liberality on our part, which our English brethren have shown in making a seaport out of Manchester, would give us first-class water transportation between the eastern and western extremes of our Union.

What does this mean to San Francisco, to the whole Pacific slope, but more especially to her metropolis?

It means infinitely more than a mere convenience in rapid transit. She is now groaning under a mercantile monopoly, more exacting than the despotism of the czar. It is the Pacific Railroad system; the child she nurtured has enslaved all her citizens. For the great distributing centre at San Francisco was annihilated by the railroad, not only from natural causes, but because that organization discriminated in favor of freights to the interior of the State and to the prejudice of the terminus. Then, for the purpose of preventing this commercial community from entering into competition with its master, the railroad system secured control of the route by way of Panama, thus making the Pacific Mail Steamships assist in the exaction of tribute from the merchants. The clipper lines around the Horn were attacked by the railroad managers by buying off the sailing-vessels, until shippers and merchants, bound hand and foot, raised sufficient capital to run a line of their own. The wine merchants of Southern California were taxed by the railroad magnates until they, too, rebelled. Represented by the oldest house in the trade, they wrote me in Boston to come to New York prepared to select and command a clipper which should sail direct to Southern California,

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and return with their wine. The railroad surrendered on the wine question, for this is one of the few commodities which is absolutely improved by the transportation of a long voyage. But the immense bulk of California products is dearer in price to the Eastern consumer, the fruit-raiser receives less for his product, and all because of the grinding railroad monopoly. This would seem to be a question in which all sections of our land should have a common interest, for, by the opening of the Nicaragua Canal, tramp steamers would carry the products of California to the Southern and Gulf States in such quantities and at such rates that, not only would there be an outlet for the superfluity of production, but these steamers would have to fly the American flag, and our commerce would gain thereby. The grain ships might possibly continue on the Cape Horn route, although it is more probable that the competition of British tramps through the canal would interfere with their business. The general effect, however, would be to cheapen breadstuffs in Europe. Like the cut at the Isthmus of Suez, the canal would not be available for the passage of sailing-vessels, if for no other reasons, on account of the long calms and dearth of regular breezes on the Pacific side. There is also the disadvantage of the opposing trade-wind on the Atlantic water route.

Should the canal be built by Britain, France, or Germany, at a time of emergency such as that now presented by the troubles in Hawaii, we should be entirely at the mercy of the controlling power; if that power favored the insurgents on any outbreak in the Pacific wherein the Washington Government were an interested party, a refusal to allow our war vessels passage through the canal would be a powerful help to our opponents. It is for a time of peace that I would advocate the opening of such a canal, but those who believe in preparation for war should not fail to see its advantages.

There should be no partnership between the present owners of the franchise and our government. If built at all by public money, it should be constructed by naval engineers, and managed just as we would manage the erection of a fortress in Boston Harbor. The tolls from passing vessels would furnish some offset, by being a perpetual income on the cost of construction. The secret of the Napoleonic rule, both under the great Bonaparte and under his nephew, was that of keeping the people employed so that the revolutionary spirit could never arise, because a change would interfere with the very means of subsistence of the masses. It was thus that the last Napoleon controlled the turbulent masses of Marseilles, the very descendants of those who

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initiated the famous canticle of revolution. Not only was public money spent without stint in civic improvements, but a new port was constructed, a lengthy stone breakwater built; so that to this day the city is a second Paris, where once it was an unhealthy, ugly, and inconvenient port. Now, President Cleveland has a rare opportunity at the present crisis to divert public attention from the seat of war, and to reunite all those of influence having interests on the Pacific by giving to the Nicaragua project his influence, and summoning his friends to his assistance. The Hawaiian imbroglio, too, furnishes him with an admirable pretext for the enterprise.

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# NEW HAWAII'S FIRST BIRTHDAY.

I PROPOSE to speak in this letter of nothing but the celebration of the first anniversary of the new nation of Hawaii, whose birthday was celebrated January 17, 1894. It is a very lively youngster, and, like most babes of that age, while a joy and blessing to its progenitors, it gives these latter great anxiety and trouble. But this was forgotten on this day, and not a wave of trouble rolled across the peaceful breast of these beautiful islands, as they rested from labor and congratulated themselves and each other on the first completed year of Hawaiian history when the people have been a State without a king. Monarchy, they said, is dead forever in Hawaii. Whatever may unfold in the future, of this we are sure: Liliuokalani is now plain Mrs. Dominis, Princess Kaiulani is no more than Miss Cleghorn, and thus they will ever be.

The day was perfect, — days usually merit this adjective in Hawaii, — the temperature about 65° F. in the early part of the forenoon, and not rising more than ten degrees through the afternoon. It opened exactly like an American Fourth of July. Chinese fire-cracker venders reaped a harvest of small silver such as they had never sown, and any instrument which could make a noise was pressed into service by the native or the irrepressible small boy. The grown-up Hawaiian is but a child in disposition; and as these lines will be printed too far away to lead to my arrest, I must interpolate the traitorous opinion that this impulsive race would have entered just as heartily into the celebration had its ceremonies been preceded by the spectacle of President Dole standing on the steps of the palace, and, with the grace of a courtier, placing a newly-burnished crown on the head of a queen, who should allow him to kneel at her feet while she extended to his lips, warmed by professions of renewed loyalty, the sceptre of her clemency, for which grace he should humbly kiss her gracious hand.

However, there was no such picture, but instead of this, harmony, a calithumpian band, followed by a procession of Antiques and Horribles, awakening those who slumbered at about six o'clock on

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Wednesday morning. Probably some four or five thousand persons were in line along the principal streets of Honolulu, witnessing the evolutions of this organization, and laughing at the caricatures exhibited. This put the community on good terms with itself for the day following its initiation into mirth. But a tropical people cannot really enter into the full enjoyment of life, save when the sun has set; from that time, until he scatters the haze from the eastward mountain-top, social pleasures reign supreme. When in Rio Janeiro, I noticed that, for those who could afford it, the night was turned into day. The bedroom, while the sun shone, was by far the more comfortable resort.

So the great celebration of Hawaiian independence took place in the evening on Palace Square, and at this time there were seven or eight thousand people on foot, a seething, surging mass of humanity, men and women, young and old, some thronging thickly around the speaker's stand, awaiting the hour of the exercises with patience, others at so remote a distance that they could have heard but little of what was in progress; however, they were all happy, good-natured, patriotic, and not disorderly.

The firm of Castle & Cooke is one of the original missionary establishments, by which is meant that the senior member certainly, and perhaps others interested therein, came here under the American Board, and resigned their ecclesiastical connection to devote their energies to trade. Mr. S. N. Castle, its founder, is still living, some eighty years of age; but its present manager is Hon. J. B. Atherton, and he was the presiding officer of the mass meeting on Independence Day. His opening address was very brief, beginning with strong disapproval of President Cleveland, whose course, he declared, had bound together citizens of all parties in Hawaii. He next congratulated the people on the purity and strength of the Provisional Government, which he said would be upheld by strong hands and willing hearts until, in the providence of God, it should be absorbed into the great American Union. Mr. J. B. Castle, son of the senior in the above firm, next spoke, addressing the crowd as "Fellow annexationists," and that term was the real keynote of all the music of the evening. It was the cue which each actor dropped, and the one which his successor took from his lips and re-echoed the moment he came on the boards. "Our hope is in that; every road leads to Washington; we wish no permanent government nor anything else which does not lead to annexation; no republic but the great republic." This is but a sample paragraph, and indeed might serve as such for the remarks of other speakers, or for the tenor of the

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conversation throughout the day. The day might merit the name of independence, because royalty was dethroned, but on no other ground, for absorption by another power was its end and aim.

General A. S. Hartwell, a lawyer by profession, and a man very well known in Boston, was the next orator, meriting that name by his commanding presence and strong yet amiable individuality. His remarks were scholarly, and all eminently historical, their main point being the comparison of the fall of the monarchy to other and similar crises in the history of human liberty, such as the charter wrested from King John at Runnymede in 1215. He made, however, a plain statement of the movement of one year ago, when he used these words: "The avowed and legitimate objects were to maintain the public peace and to promote political union with the United States." General Hartwell was appointed associate chief-justice of the kingdom in 1868, and resigned that position to become attorney-general under King Kalakaua in February, 1874; after serving awhile, he resigned, to return to a like position under the King for a year and a half about 1877. He is now engaged in the practice of law here, and is also very active in the attempt to secure cable communication with San Francisco. In social life he is a most genial and popular man.

It is not necessary to follow each one of the speakers through the evening's exercises. Parallel circumstances in history, fortunate coincidences were freely cited. That it was the birthday of Kamehameha III., who was at the close of his days an annexationist; that just one hundred years before on that day the people of France condemned to death their despotic king, these are instances of the aptness of human minds to look for auspicious auguries.

Electricity has a stronger following in Honolulu than in any other city of its size in the world, and to this fact may be laid the beautifully illuminated grounds, — for the square was ablaze with lights of all colors, and there were further some home-made fireworks. By some accident or inexperience, I have not heard which, these all went off in one brief but altogether glorious blaze, much to the glee of the crowd in the momentary enjoyment. I have not heard whether any bilious royalist noted this as an omen of the short yet brilliant career of the new nation.

President Dole with his wife held a reception during the day, when any person was at liberty to call and shake hands with the chief executive. It was largely attended by those in sympathy with the Provisional Government, but by no others. The royalists were not there; nor were

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any of the naval officers of any one of the national vessels of Britain, Japan, or the United States present, although it is claimed by the annexationists that some did attend in civilian's dress, a statement which, acquainted as I am with the principles of nautical obedience, I more than doubt. Two full pardons and one commutation of a long sentence were granted by President Dole, much to the surprise of the recipients of his clemency.

The most amusing phase of the celebration is to be found in the position of Minister Willis, a well-meaning man, who is believed by some persons strongly in sympathy with the present government, to be at heart one of its friends, yet officially bound by President Cleveland to remain its foe. Accredited to that government by his own, it was his place to have accepted the conspicuous part which he might have filled during its national holiday — to have concurred with the admiral in arranging for a national salute to the flag of Hawaii. Yet such a demand having been made on President Dole as that of a few weeks ago, — worse yet, such a defiance having been returned as in past years would have inevitably led to war between the two powers, — if the American fleet had opened their ports, it should have been with shotted guns levelled at Hawaiian breastworks. It was locally remarked that Hawaii is at peace with the American people, but at war with President Cleveland and Secretary Gresham. In either case Minister Willis was in a dilemma, and he did the best thing under the circumstances — namely, he did nothing publicly, save to take his three meals at the same hotel from whence I send you these lines. There is great indignation manifested towards his action, or, rather, non-action, in the premises, because, either from the fact that American interests have always been paramount here, or from some other diplomatic courtesy with which I am not acquainted now, the American minister has always led in the official acts of the whole corps of the resident representatives of foreign nations; none of these in the slightest degree noticed the celebration, and to poor Mr. Willis is the universal snub assigned; and so it is roundly charged to him that there was no official recognition of the first birthday of Hawaii by a single representative of any one of her sister nations.

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# TELEGRAPHIC ADVICES.

## DISCONTENT IN HAWAII.

HONOLULU, January 23, 1894.

IT is nominally quiet at Honolulu, but the feeling strong that the government must announce its policy for a succession and for the future within sixty days. It is at this season that annual election is held. This, and the fact that the provisionalists have been in power one year, render it probable that public impression is correct. Besides, there are the most decided signs of difference of opinion, even disaffection, in the rank and file of the adherents of government. They complain that they have no voice in the ruling of the nation, that a leading official for the post-office is to be imported by the executive council from California, and claim that there should be at least ten new members of the government elected to represent the people. The whole membership of the Provisional Government, including President Dole, is but nineteen, and the advisory council of fourteen is included in that number. This places a nation in the absolute power of a very few self-nominated, self-elected men. The finances are most honestly and successfully administered by Hon. S. M. Damon. He is the minister of finance and a partner in the powerful banking-house of Bishop & Co., which has been for nearly fifty years the bank of the islands. He publishes weekly statements of condition. January 17th was observed as the Hawaiian Fourth of July, — noise, processions, reception by President Dole, pardons to convicts, speeches, and fireworks. In the evening some seven thousand persons were assembled on a public square, the largest gathering ever witnessed on the islands. But prominent royalists stayed indoors, no foreign consul called on the government, no naval officer from any national vessel appeared on the street in uniform, nor was there any salute to the Hawaiian flag, nor any recognition of the day on the part of any representative of any other nation. From an announcement of an independence day, the celebration became that of an annexation day; such was the keynote and the final echo in every speech. The Queen is still calm, patient, and hopeful. She has never in the least lost her faith that a great national wrong will be righted, and in every respect bears her sorrow with true Christian fortitude.

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# OUR FLAG IN HAWAII.

HONOLULU again after more than twenty years of absence, during one of which I passed its meridian when bound around the world as master of the celebrated clipper-ship "Nightingale." A sailor's ship ranks scarcely second to his sweetheart, so pardon a line to her memory. On her first voyage she ran from Portsmouth, N.H., to Land's End, England, in thirteen days. That was in 1851. She was bound for the original World's Fair at London, where she took the prize. She was named, not for the bird, but for the heroine, Miss Florence Nightingale, and during her checkered existence as merchantman, naval vessel, Russian telegraph service ship, slaver, and now, alas, Norwegian, no person had ever had the heart to change that beautiful name. It was my good fortune to command her on her last circumnavigation of the globe, under the waving folds of our star-spangled banner.

She is a good text for this article, for of all words I could write, those in the last line are now the dearest to the majority of the white population at Honolulu. Our flag waves everywhere. Mr. Blount might have had one pulled down, but the glorious ensign still meets your eye at every corner. As I come down the street (the same on which I lived years ago), I see the whole upper story of a large building turned into one great American banner; the hall is that of the Annexation Club. The ceiling is so ingeniously draped with our colors that it has the effect of a large flag the exact size of the room. Thus, those assembling there are literally under their own flag at every meeting. I continue my walk, and enter a beautiful driveway, at the right of which is the large, comfortable mansion of my host, Dr. John S. McGrew, a member of the staff of General N. P. Banks during the war of the Rebellion. When here before, this mansion was occupied by the American minister, General McCook. Now — but I will let the doctor tell his own story: —

"A newspaper correspondent succeeded, about two months ago, in obtaining an interview with the Queen, and saw a bran new rope.

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When he asked what that was for, she said that it was to hang that terrible old chief of the annexationists, Dr. McGrew. This was at the time of the refusal of amnesty."

The above is an example of the silly stories repeated about the Queen.

Dr. McGrew was very sorry to learn of the failing health of his old commander, General Banks, for whom he has never ceased to have the highest respect. Frank, brusque, outspoken in sentiment and manner, the doctor has this great merit — he can never be misunderstood. He regards these islands as paradise upon earth, yet has never wavered in his allegiance to that flag for whose stars he gave four years of his life, and often faced the terrors of a soldier's calling. I have mentioned him as a type of the American element in this city. There is no northern village of the whole Union, let the flowers carpet its cemetery on Decoration Day, whose loyalty to the flag is more intense than that of the majority of the white residents of Honolulu. Fourth of July has always been celebrated here as in the United States. The present year there was an interesting dilemma. The day dawned, and there was to be a more enthusiastic gathering than ever. Why? Because the celebrants believed themselves already adding another star to the banner. But who was to preside? The Paramount Commissioner Blount was the highest resident American citizen. He was waited upon by the islander in charge, and told that he must assume the chair; that, in the history of the islands, the United States official highest in rank had never yet declined that responsibility. He objected, flatly refused, but his caller was equally obstinate; and, finally, under the assurance that he should make no speech, that he should be retained for but one hour merely as the figure-head, and in deference to a custom of more than half a century's standing, Mr. Blount consented. No greater proof of the mistake of President Cleveland in sending him to the islands could have been seen. There sat Mr. Blount, an ex-Confederate, a Southerner, while all the absolute Unionism of the war era was fired at his head. He had to listen, not only to "Yankee Doodle" and "The Star-Spangled Banner," but for him were also sounded forth the inspiriting notes of "Marching through Georgia;" and he was further assured, with a local meaning, that the soul of John Brown was marching on. No regard was paid to the fact that Mr. Blount's State was that which witnessed Sherman's march to the sea, nor was it ever thought by the throng that, to a Southerner, the hottest regions of Dante's "Inferno" are not severe enough for the crime of the old hero of Harper's Ferry. Mr. Blount did not fraternize in the least with the people while he was here. He

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declined all social attentions, and knew as much of the spirit animating the Provisional Government party when he landed as he knew when he left, save for the fact that Mrs. Blount, of whom all speak favorably, exchanged calls with those of her own sex.

My letter of the 17th spoke of the first anniversary of the new nation as Annexation Day, and this would be a far better name for it than the day of Hawaiian Independence. There is not the least desire for the latter in any class whatever of the residents. The natives are at heart loyal to their traditional monarchy. The Americans are all annexationists; their idea of government meanwhile is aptly expressed in the title it now holds, — it is a provision for the interregnum; that is, until the United States may see fit to accede to their wish to open the door at which they will continue to knock until, to use the Scriptural parable, because of their importunity, the master at Washington will arise and give them that which is needed. This is their openly avowed intention, and whatever they otherwise do it must be considered as merely preliminary to the grand end and result.

In the handwriting of Hon. John L. Stevens to me, now open before me, I read these words: "The points in issue in Hawaii are not of theology or church government, but those pertaining to free government as against an irresponsible monarchy, of public morality and financial honesty as against public license and reckless expenditure." Hon. Peter C. Jones, a Boston boy, for over thirty years a resident, a man of whom any community should be proud, member of the last cabinet of the Queen which had the confidence of all parties, and also one of the first members of the circle by whom she was overthrown, said to me, "We want good government; that is the whole aim of this movement. We fully decided to waive the sugar bounty, and it was so agreed amongst us at the departure of the earliest commission that went to Washington. We haven't had good government for twenty years, and we are sick of corruption in high places." This was the universal sentiment of the residents of the place at first; that is, as described to me by a gentleman of European birth and still representing a foreign government at this place. "We know now," he said, "where the money goes. We have always paid seven-eighths of the taxes, and we never knew what became of the money; everything is now above-board, and we shall pay our taxes far more cheerfully." These are but sample remarks of some of the soundest, the most honest and most sincere men in the city; and they often add that the only way by which pure, upright, high-minded government can be secured is to be found in the

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continued abrogation of a monarchy. Such men are not conspirators; grant that they are mistaken, if you will; call them moneyed aristocrats, but that must be the harshest name of which they are deserving. They are to their view Christian patriots; if in error, behold all the more reason why they should be fairly treated. They have the sympathies of some of those of foreign birth; yes, one of the older citizens of British blood, forty-three years resident on Oahu, with eye scarcely dimmed or natural forced abated by his eighty years of life, a man of broad views, who has crossed the ocean about a hundred times, stepped out of his beautiful parlors the other day and returned to show to me the very revolver which he bought to use in the provisional army at the time of Minister Willis's demand on President Dole, and, said he, "I would have gladly given what remains to me of life in such a cause. I should have esteemed it an honor to die in the defence of the government. I once took out preliminary papers as an American citizen, for I own a great deal of property in the United States. I have made of life a success, and own a great deal here. I did not want my property put in jeopardy; there was danger of it, I know there was. We had an incendiary fire the very night before the marines landed, and there was kerosene abroad; only the presence of the troops under arms that night, the knowledge that they were here, prevented scenes of violence. Oh, it makes me so mad to hear the remarks made about Minister Stevens! A good man, one of the very best men that ever lived. Why, I wrote him a letter myself appealing to him to ask Captain Wiltse to land his men to protect my property;" and, interpolated the son of the old Englishman, "I saw the four discarded members of the Queen's discharged cabinet, men in sympathy exclusively with monarchy, enter Minister Stevens's house to ask him to protect them also."

Now such direct evidence as the above cannot be ignored; it is worth more than all the affidavits, stenographic reports, or cautious testimony in high places. I have heard enough already. I know the island people well enough, and understand enough of the human heart, to assert that all insinuations that our nation's representative was other than an American sincerely devoted to the honor of his country and the good of humanity will never be noticed by me. Nor is this view inconsistent with the belief that the landing of the United States troops was a blunder. It would have been far wiser to have had the boats on their oars about the "Philadelphia," the launches with steam up, and immediate recourse to the telephone (with which the ships are connected), in case of attempted violence. It seems to me that had a man of naval,

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nautical, or military discipline had the casting vote, such would have been the course, for he would have known how quickly trained force can be concentrated at a given point. Mr. John L. Stevens may have been hot-headed, misguided, an imaginary Lafayette to a struggling land, anything which those similes typify, if you please, for the greatest evils are often the result of the blunders of the good, and this is as far as any one can go in condemning his action. Of the financial soundness of the nation there can be no doubt, with Hon. S. M. Damon, son of my old friend, the seaman's chaplain, at the helm. Mr. Damon is now the leading partner in the house of Bishop & Co., which has always been the standard bank of the islands. Another banker assured me yesterday that he had just sold $10,000 of the Hawaiian Government bonds.

It occurs to me to add in defence of the oft-repeated assertion that Minister Stevens quartered the troops in a hall near the palace, that this was merely a matter of momentary convenience and not of prior selection. It is not easy at an hour's notice to secure barracks for an army. Arion Hall was about the only room available in which the men could get a night's sleep.

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# THE HAWAIIAN ROYALISTS.

THIS letter is written on the inspiration of conversations with those of pronounced royalist affiliations. One of these is a lady of Hawaiian blood, but connected by marriage with my mother's family. About the year 1808, there was a firm of Indian commission merchants on Kilby Street, Boston; its style was J. & J. Peabody. Jacob Peabody, the senior party, had been to sea, making two long voyages on the ship "Java" of Salem. He was my maternal grandfather, and it was on our ancestral acres, still occupied by my mother's children, which have never been leased, mortgaged, or divided since 1654, that the Peabody family had their last year's annual reunion. One of Jeremiah's grandchildren was husband of the lady who first welcomed me to these islands in 1867, and who has now thrown open her house and home to me. Her children, while one-eighth Hawaiian blood, are not as dark-skinned as I am, the tendency being universal to return to the whiter strain as the race gets farther from the original half-caste. It will not be well for me, nor is it necessary, to mention the other sources of my information, for it comes to me, not as a newspaper correspondent, but through friendly or family channels similar to the above. It comes to me directly from the lips of Christian men and Christian women; by which term I mean those who recognize that God demands truthfulness in all things, and that their own lives must be modelled on that of the Galilean teacher. But one of those of whom I speak is of my own faith. I have some half-dozen in mind, and the rest are Protestants.

"Hawaii for the Hawaiians!" This, it is asserted, is the war-cry of those in sympathy with the monarchy; it is, and why should not this be so? By the Hawaiians an islander does not mean necessarily those of exclusively Polynesian blood, for it is acknowledged everywhere that in about one generation there will be few, if any, of these in existence; but, taking the places of their darker ancestry, there is already in the field a superior race, those in whom runs a strain of the bluest of New England blood, or the sturdiest of ancestry coming direct from Great

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Britain. Now this, with an occasional admixture of the German or other race, is the coming people of Hawaii. It is a healthy race, a prolific race, even an energetic race, and it is characterized by an intense love of its own nationality, its tendency to look for that nationality in the blood of the Kamehamehas on the land of its nativity, rather than to cast its eyes backwards towards Boston or London.

In this respect, it differs most decidedly from that portion of the island population composed of intermarriages between missionary families. These are just as intensely American as the first named are Hawaiian. "More Catholic than the Pope" is an ancient expression; and adapting the proverb to the descendants of strictly American families, there is more of the spirit of Bunker Hill, more love of the cause of '61, in the last named than now is apparent from the State of Maine to the mouth of the Delaware.

It is from the strictly American that the Provisional Government is formed, because the object of its organization was annexation. Now that this has failed and left its projectors in a dilemma, it is their policy to exclude from office or from any prominence in the community, all those not in openly expressed sympathy with them, and this means the contrary war-cry of "Down with the Hawaiians!"

As one of the latter said to me yesterday: "If these men succeed, whatever their ultimate form of government, we shall be a conquered race; the offices are more and more filled with importations from abroad. Adventurers, with all things to gain, with nothing to lose, are coming by every steamer, and these ally themselves at once with the party in power. Without such recruits, without disfranchising us, the annexationists cannot keep in power."

And, as usual in revolution, there is no consideration for the minority. "Whosoever is not with us is against us" is the assertion. Families and business houses are divided by heart-rending feuds.

Was there a reference to the United States at the time of her enforced abdication? There was, without the shadow of a doubt. Granted that it was not formal, duly acknowledged, signed, sealed, and delivered, it is the first premise of law to consider the intention of the parties. Of this no reasonable person who hears the words of the actors in the fall of the monarchy can be undecided. The Queen distinctly understood that her cause was to be heard, judged, and settled on the basis of such arbitration. I have as yet no right to state the feeling of President Dole, but it is permitted to me to say that the messenger from the Queen (to whom he handed her protest after endorsing thereon his

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reception thereof) fully believed that such endorsement meant a submission on the part of the Provisional Government to the decision of the President. Both parties desired to avoid bloodshed, and the distinct understanding that both parties were bound by the results of the reference was all that spared the people the clash of arms. Why did the Queen at first refuse amnesty? Not that she had an actual fixed intention to require the blood of those who had rebelled against her authority, although in past centuries this would have been considered but justice. She, however, expressly told the official who bore the tidings of her refusal to say that she did not desire the presence of these men in her kingdom. Let them return to the land to which in their hearts they had now given allegiance; as long as they remained here they would be a standing menace to her rule. They had shown that in political questions they would not be bound by any vows, because four out of the five commissioners who went to Washington to subvert her government had taken in official capacity the most solemn oaths to sustain it and its royal executive. Is there anything unreasonable in the position of the Queen? She retracted and promised amnesty? She did, for at least two reasons: first, she was weaker, and was advised by good counsellors; second, when she sent the promise of amnesty, she expressly said, "if they will take hold with loyal hearts and assist in the re-establishment of good government."

I may at some time consider the causes which led to her fall, the reasons for the abrogation of the "Bayonet Constitution," as it was called, because it was wrested from her brother, King Kalakaua, at the point of the bayonet, and sullenly granted by him; but I have not the time for this in this article.

As to her character, the better class of her opponents are agreed that, so far as this does not influence her official acts, her subjects have nought to say about it; it rests with her associates and with her God. But she has nothing to fear in this respect from the most bitter of her enemies. Character-building is a slow process, the work of a lifetime. In two previous letters, my opinion of Queen Liliuokalani, as she was, has been stated. That opinion has been happily, overwhelmingly, confirmed to me by those who know her best to-day. Look at it reasonably, as child, maid, wife (her husband, John Dominis, — educated at Chauncy Hall School, Boston, — when I was here before, was governor of this, the most important, island), she bore, as I stated in these columns, not only a spotless, but a high reputation. To this day it can be asserted of her by women who have associated with her in all the

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intimacy possible to two individuals of like sex — women who have had the entry, unannounced, of her apartments — that not an impure word, not the suspicion of a concealed action has ever met their notice. She does not indulge in gossip nor repeat scandal in relation to others. This latter has been a life-long characteristic, and by none more than this can the character of an individual be estimated. Now after such has been the reputation of a woman for years, when, *ex officio* and as a benevolent lady, she is the patroness of schools and charitable institutions, after passing the meridian of life, do we look for its opposite? I consider this question as settled forever, and believe that the press, of whatever politics, would be wise to exclude from their columns any reference to it as an element in this civil strife.

A word as to her niece. I ask that young lady's pardon for an error in alluding to her age, and were she here would kiss her royal hand or meekly accept a slap therefrom for having called her twenty-three instead of seventeen. She is a beautiful, lovable, Christian girl, as all will acknowledge who met her in Boston last year. She did not wish to take part in the quarrel. Her guardian, Hon. T. H. Davies, formerly the British vice-consul at this port, and a merchant much beloved and respected by persons of every shade of opinion, was in England. He was advised by a United States consul in England to go to Washington at once, — a most inconvenient move for him, and prejudicial to his own affairs. He said, "Kaiulani, we must go, you must go;" the girl refused, hesitated, then added, "But what shall I say when I return to my native land, and the people come around me and say to me, 'Kaiulani, we have lost our country; Kaiulani, you might have saved us, and you did not?' yes, for my people's sake, I will go." The result of that mission is now before the American people.

I have mentioned the exact state of the case which came to me from the lips of Mr. Davies, because it illustrates the intense affection for their nation and their people which distinguishes this amiable race. No one can know the Hawaiians and forbear to love them. Oh, how their beautiful dark eyes fill with tears, and how cloudy is my own sight when they speak to me of the extinction of their name and nation from the community of their more powerful sister-lands! My first acquaintances of native blood were Mr. and Mrs. Hopili, who were in the cabin of a sailing-vessel with me for two weeks. They are both dead; they were of noble birth and lineage; but I recognize the same intense loyalty in the words of the Princess as was apparent in this devoted couple, of whom I have already written.

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It is touching to see in the present attitude of Queen Liliuokalani renewed proof of the deathlessness of hope. She has never lost confidence that a great national wrong will be redressed; she bears her sorrow and reads the slanders of her enemies with the spirit of true Christian fortitude. With two persons in sympathy with her, I had almost an identical remark; it was on this wise. They said, "Do you not think that President Cleveland will redress the wrong done to us by the United States authority?"

"No," I answered; "I cannot see how the President can do any more than he has already done: he has made his demand, it is declined; now, to go any farther would be an act of war, and this he cannot initiate without declaration on the part of Congress."

"Then, under your constitution, the American minister is more powerful than the President, for he had the right to land forces, which the President cannot do," was the answer in both cases from men who, as far as I know, have no acquaintance with each other.

One of these is a professional man, the other in mercantile life; one is of French, the other of German lineage.

In deciding this question, remember that the end never justifies the means. Grant that there was place for wrath against the Queen's official acts; to consequently ignore the law of nations, to appeal to mob-law, even to a mob of righteous men, to forget one's oath, to substitute oligarchy rule for the will of the people, this is to violate the eternal law of *right*, and the end is not yet.

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# SOCIAL LIFE AT HONOLULU.

Although nearest to our shores, the Hawaiian islands were discovered latest of all the Pacific groups. Captain Cook sighted them January 18, 1778, at which time he reckoned that they contained 400,000 souls. There are now about one-tenth that number of native blood; of these, rather more than one-third are Roman Catholics, the rest being equally divided between those still holding to Congregationalism and those who can scarcely be claimed by any party or sect. There are fourteen islands, of which three are barren rocks, three are thinly populated, while on eight civilization and its industries are fully established. Hospitality is universal.

But it cannot be too often asserted that one must never judge the strictly native race by our standards, and this is notably true of the country districts where some of the people are but one generation from absolute barbarism, although this term does not mean cruelty or cannibalism, neither of which were ever characteristic of the Hawaiians.

In one of the country churches, for example, a member was tried for getting drunk on sweet-potato beer. The church acquitted him, assigning the following reasons: —

1. Sweet-potato beer was the common drink of the people, therefore he could not be condemned for using it.

2. To get drunk on the beer was so common that it would depopulate the church to condemn the members for such offence.

The reasoning is very ingenious, and I cannot doubt the fact, for it is given on the authority of the minister who best knows the native churches; namely, the Rev. Dr. Hyde, resident correspondent of the American Board.

It is strange that at the second social occasion to which I was invited this gentleman was one of the first to whom I was presented. It was at a meeting of the Social Science Association, held at the house of Hon. A. F. Judd, chief-justice of the Supreme Court. Judge Judd and myself had met at his father's house in other days. Dr. Hyde and I

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had met as antagonists in the press when he attacked and I defended the memory of the late Father Damien.

Personally I was much impressed and pleased with Dr. Hyde. A man of rather more than ordinary height, with silvered hair, gentle voice, and reverent manner, he could not fail to interest an audience. He is a very handsome man, and in this respect, as well as in a certain assumption of authority, he forcibly reminded me of the pastor of my boyhood, Rev. E. N. Kirk of Mount Vernon Church.

There is every opportunity for friendship here, for in no part of the world is society so large-hearted and open-handed. Within the first week, invitations reached me as follows: to amateur theatricals at the residence of a foreign consul, to two afternoon receptions, one social meeting of gentlemen at Mr. Judd's residence, lunches and dinners innumerable. This was always characteristic of Honolulu, and it is wonderful to note that such hospitality is still in vogue, — wonderful because there are now good hotels, but more so because the good nature of the citizens has been most discourteously abused by visitors; these have accepted attentions, and then in letters have exposed to ridicule or travesty the customs or opinions of their hosts.

Such has been the case since steam communication was established. This is now frequent but not regular, by which I mean that we have at times three mails in as many days, and thereafter we may not have another for as many weeks. This is because the "China," "New Zealand," and the local mail steamers make this a port of call, and arrange their dates according to respective convenience rather than with the object of alternation. The steamers of the line of J. D. Spreckels & Co. are American built, conveniently arranged, and offer to the tourist a pleasing voyage of one week going or coming from San Francisco. These run on schedule time, never arriving a day earlier than the date due, and, unless delayed at San Francisco awaiting the British mails, never behind time. Fare, $125 the round trip. Every courtesy and attention are shown to passengers on the Spreckels line.

The Hawaiian Hotel is a large establishment with twelve adjoining cottages, and its accommodations or table, while not perfect, are sufficiently so to leave no room for reasonable complaint. The price of board is ten dollars per week, if one has rooms elsewhere; if lodgings are provided, the charge is about double this sum.

Near the hotel is the house of the American legation, the Masonic Temple, Union Church, government buildings, Public Library, and Young Men's Christian Association. To the two last-named, visitors

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are always welcome, or one may subscribe fifty cents a month to the library, and enjoy all its privileges. There is no restriction on the use of the papers or books; these are liberally supplied, and access to them is open to all without the use of cards. Advanced ideas also find a harbor in Honolulu; for example, a library of theosophical books has just been opened to the public.

Had such progress not been characteristic, the community would not now be the largest patron of the telephone known to the world. The city of Honolulu has a population of, say, 24,000, and there are about thirteen hundred instruments in place, being one to about eighteen inhabitants, an unexampled record. There are two rival companies, but for both my instruments I pay but two-thirds as much as my single line costs at Boston. Electric lights are also in use in all public places, and there are few residences without them.

Even the national vessels at anchor are connected with the shore by telephone. These are at this time the Japanese iron-clad "Naniwa," the American steamship "Philadelphia," the British ship "Champion," and the American steam bark "Adams."

President Dole has visited the American ships, but has never been to the others, at least in his official capacity. He has been notified by the latter that he would receive no more than the salute due to a foreign minister, while under our flag, he is honored with twenty-one guns, or the same number which would be given to President Cleveland.

In an official communication in regard to a British vessel, made to the chief executive by the minister of that kingdom, President Dole is addressed simply as the minister of foreign affairs.

The President is very considerate of the wishes of representatives of the press, and allows them access to him at any reasonable hour. The sessions of the advisory council and its discussions are open to the public. "We have absolutely nothing to conceal," said the President to me on the occasion of our first meeting. "As long as a faithful report is made, we are willing that everything we say or do should be recorded and read."

The American press is represented here by correspondents for the following newspapers: *Chicago Times* and *Inter Ocean*, *New York World*, and *Boston Transcript*. Mr. Nordhof has left, so the *Herald* bureau is simply one of information gleaned from local newspapers, and forwarded by others. The other papers have sent out special correspondents. Mr. W. P. Harrison, son of the late Mayor of Chicago, represents the journal owned by his family. The most unenviable

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reputation has been left by Mr. Nordhof, because, like Mr. Blount's case, it is thought that Mr. Nordhof's was prearranged, so that neither of these gentlemen could be other than partisan. In support of this assertion, I hear that Mr. Nordhof's first despatch was written on board the steamer by which he came, and forwarded to San Francisco on the steamer then leaving, ere the writer had stepped on Hawaiian soil.

But no amount of misrepresentation can, it would seem, restrain the hospitalities of the Hawaiian people. Houses are never closed, and this is true in whatever sense the statement be construed. There are no door-bells, no watch-dogs, and no bars to entrance save those required to exclude the mosquitoes. You step up the outer stairs, and thence on the veranda, and your host, or hostess, advances from the room to welcome you. My cottage has three rooms; it is most beautifully situated under spreading palms, flowering vines, and never-failing shade trees. Its outlook is upon an acre of grassy lawn, which the sun's rays reach only through the interstices betwixt the verdure of the lofty trees. Neither my doors nor my windows are ever locked, by day or by night. Within there is not a lock on closet, desk, or bureau, and such is the universal custom.

Whatever difference of opinion we may have in regard to the progress of Christian missions, let us never question their utility. Be the organization conducting them Congregationalist, Catholic, or Wesleyan, humanity is always the gainer to the full worth of every dollar expended in the cause.

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# TELEGRAPHIC ADVICES.

## THE QUEEN THE REBEL.

HONOLULU, February 3, 1894.

PRESIDENT DOLE says, in an interview with your correspondent to-day, as to the justification of his course, and the fall of the monarchy: —

"It must always be a question in such movements where the point of submission to authority terminates, and the right or duty of resistance begins. If ever there was a just revolution, it was ours; not only in the cause of sound politics, but also with a view to the social, moral, and educational needs of the whole community. The best interests were not only in peril, they were openly attacked. The Queen was an insurgent. She had rebelled against her own government. This revolt on her part was equivalent to an abdication. There was then no government at all. No community can exist without government. As to the violation of oath of allegiance, the first oath broken was that of the ex-Queen, who abrogated her own oath of fidelity to the constitution. After she had done this, her former counsellors were, by that fact, absolved from their oaths of loyalty to her. It cannot be otherwise. But is an oath a covenant? Most certainly it is in such a case as this. It is a contract between two parties. A covenant is an agreement, the fidelity to which on either side is conditional on like fidelity on the other side.

"Our forefathers rebelled against George III. for less cause in 1776 than we had in 1893. The North took up arms against the South, in 1861, for less reason than when we strove to prevent the imperilment of our liberties against acts far more subversive of good government than the encroachment of the slave power. King Kalakaua, in 1887, made an almost equally flagrant attempt upon our rights; but there was this difference: he never rebelled against his own constitutional government, while the ex-Queen, by one wave of her hand, would have swept this entirely away, — in fact, this is just what, so far as it was possible before our resistance, she tried to do. Kalakaua met the case constitutionally, and we arranged matters with him on the basis of the constitution, a new one granted by agreement with him. Suppose Queen Victoria

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should openly violate and wrest from her people the British constitutional authority, would her subjects then, from the least to the greatest, be bound by their oaths of allegiance to her? In the case of many of our citizens, there is no oath of fealty. They were born into the kingdom, and inherited the rights of citizenship with their native air. So much for what is asserted of the violation of oaths of office.

"Now, as to our form of government. Was it a mere provision for the day and hour until we could gain the advantages of annexation to the United States? By no means. Did we stake our all, the sum and the substance of our hopes, on that probability? Not at all. We believed in annexation. It was our first choice — that we do not deny, for it is self-evident by our course. But we realized that there were doubts of its success. Yes, realized it from the first, and talked of alternatives.

"We also realized that there must be a representation of the people. This was fully understood in 1887, when all parties were practically united — in the desire for a republic, that is. Granted the supposition that the King had refused us a constitution, would not a republic introduce bribery, corruption, and the demagogue, so that thus representation would be deprived of its advantages? It can never have the same power in this respect which those very elements have held over our heads through the influence of royalty under the monarchy. The demagogue has had every chance. The only parallel to it under a republican form of government to be drawn is by supposing the President to be one of the very class to be dreaded by the advocates of purity in high places. But we hope to defeat this possibility by making him in all cases ineligible to the place by re-election. He should never be his own successor.

"With all the wisdom of the organization of the greatest of modern republics, it is a matter of wonder that this simple provision against corruption has never been adopted. I do not know that I would say that he should never again hold office, but I would exact that he should never be a candidate for the office while he was holding it. If he went out of office, stayed out, and, while only a private citizen, was again nominated, that would place him in a totally different light before the electors.

"Would I wish to state anything about our plans for the future? I should have not the least objection to doing this were there anything of a certain or definite character to be stated; but we must be set at rest on all questions in which the Washington Government may have an interest before we can intelligently consider the future. As lovers of representative government, we may say this: The people are entitled to representation, and any plan to which we assent must include this as

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a constitutional right. Will it be by the addition of members to the present council, such new members to be chosen by the people, or will it be by the organization of an upper and lower house? We cannot tell. You have suggested to me three houses; for instance, the organization of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, where there is a Governor's Council, a Senate, and a House of Representatives, all elected by the voters. Of course, this is possible, but I fail to recognize in it any special advantages.

"We had something like the first-named body here in that which we called the privy council. It had the power of appropriating public moneys in certain emergencies — that of the outbreak of plague or pestilence, for example. It was a very convenient body, for it could always be convoked into session while the members of Parliament were at times scattered over the islands, and could not, at a sudden emergency, be assembled. Further, by reason of the length of the session, many of the members might have returned to their homes. That was the case in this last Parliament that sat before the fall of the Queen. She had absolutely tired out the better element by a seven months' sitting, so that her supporters were left in the majority, and it was thus that the last ministry, which represented the best citizens, was overthrown.

"Some such body as the privy council might be, to any future government, a great convenience under certain conditions. It at once held the power of the purse, and could disburse money for certain well-defined objects. It is true that the present government has been in power over a year, and that this year terminates just prior to the time when our annual elections are held; but I do not think that has, or will have, any influence on the plans for changing the form into one of permanence, with a legitimate succession. I think the latter movement will be influenced by other causes, the most important of these being our relations with the Washington Government."

The above synopsis of my conversation with His Excellency has been courteously revised by President Dole, in accordance with my request. It is thus the latest expression of opinion of those in sympathy with the Provisional Government.

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# THE HAWAIIAN PRESIDENT.

The Provisional Government of the Hawaiian islands is composed of a president, — now His Excellency Sanford B. Dole, — who is also minister of foreign affairs, an executive council of four members, and an advisory council of thirteen members, — all at present from the island of Oahu, — and the nineteen (this number including the secretary) meet in one hall as a legislative assembly. The sessions are open to the public, at least in part; for, at a certain time, it is moved to go into executive session, and then spectators are excluded.

The object of combining two offices in one person was that thus the president might draw a fixed salary. There was no statute fixing compensation for a president, but there was a stipend provided for a minister. But such economy had its disadvantages, nowhere more forcibly shown than when the British minister addressed Mr. Dole on a matter connected with a vessel of that flag, using simply the designation of "Minister of Foreign Affairs." At an ensuing meeting of the council, a bill was introduced, separating the two offices, and fixing the salary of the president at $10,000 a year.

Mr. Dole presided at this meeting, the first at which he had been present for many weeks; for his health has suffered not a little by the pressure of official duties and the anxieties of his position, which is the one of the most responsibility of all those connected with the government.

The legislative deliberations are no longer conducted in two languages. The parliamentary language is now English, and the interpreter's occupation is gone. There is but one member in whose veins runs a strain of the darker blood. He is the son of a Chinaman by a native mother. This unity of idiom much simplifies discussion, and there can be no further misunderstanding of technical terms. It was a matter of common notoriety that Mr. Ragsdale, the former official, could give to any speaker's remarks that bias which was judged best by the interpreter's own mind. For example, in the heat of discussion, the presiding

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officer was called by a member speaking English, "a pudd'n'-head." He turned to the interpreter for a synonyme.

"Oh," coolly remarked Mr. Ragsdale, "he means that your Excellency's remarks were not distinguished by that good sense and sound judgment which are so characteristic of your Excellency." The debate proceeded without further interruption on the part of the chairman.

But it was at Mr. Dole's residence that I was received by his own appointment. It is a spacious, airy cottage, like most of those in Honolulu, abundantly shielded from the rays of the sun by a thick growth of surrounding trees. The President's parents came from the State of Maine, and landed in Hawaii in the year 1840, after the usual long voyage around Cape Horn. They were members of that devoted band of New England missionaries by whom civilization and Christianity were introduced into these islands.

Sanford Ballard, their son, was born here in 1844, and received his early education at Punahou College, an institution of which his father was first president. From thence he went to Williams College, Massachusetts, having earned, by his own labors, a part of his expenses. Leaving college, he studied law in the office of the late William T. Brigham of Boston; but soon after his admission to the bar of Suffolk County he returned to his native soil, and was duly admitted to practise in the courts of the Hawaiian kingdom, of which he became afterwards one of the associate justices. He first entered the Legislature in 1884, serving again in 1886, and taking a prominent part in the revolution of 1887. In view of existing events, it is notable that, although at that latest date a stanch believer in the necessity of a radical reform, yet Mr. Dole then declared his unwillingness to participate in any extreme measures; especially did he oppose the least manifestation of violence, or any step by which bloodshed would be precipitated. He showed at this time so much conservatism, that the peaceful solution of those difficulties was very generally assigned to his personal influence. In person, President Dole is rather beyond the average height, of commanding presence and dignified mien. He rarely relaxes, even momentarily, his self-control. Yet, with all this, he has not a suggestion of frigidity in manner, but impresses his sympathetic nature upon the visitor.

To my remark that the journal represented by me desired to maintain an independent attitude, and give expression to each and every view of the points in issue, President Dole kindly favored me with his sentiments, an account of which has been already published in these columns.

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After sending my telegram, at a casual meeting, he desired to add a few words on the assertion that, in the event of the success of his government, the Hawaiian people would be a conquered race. To this, he replies that it was current talk at first that the natives would be treated like the aborigines of North America; that is, they would be allowed no share whatever in the administration of government, they would be segregated from the whites in all departments, and it had even been asserted that they would be forced to reside upon reservations. To all this, he had simply to remark that there was nothing in it. "The people now in power are the best friends the natives have, or have had for years. As individuals, you would be surprised to know how many of the native race, both boys and girls, are receiving support and education from the very men who sit in this council-chamber. Our adherents take great and substantial interest in the poorest of these people. As a government, one of the most important movements under consideration is a project which will give to each Hawaiian, no matter how poor, the opportunity to hold land, to improve it, and to thus have a homestead of his own. We are discussing this matter, and the result of our deliberations will be duly announced. It will be something very similar to the system of land tenure which obtains in New Zealand. Now, in contrast to this, what was the position of the poor native under the monarchy? It was that of a serf. The whole Hawaiian people have always been held in serfdom, from which no one of them had the least chance to emerge. The rich man was sure of place, preferment, and every consideration from royalty. The court was dependent upon the latter for its extravagant support; it relied upon the former for nothing, and it did absolutely nothing for its poorer subjects."

It may be in place for me to add just here that the bill now before the Assembly gives President Dole a salary of $10,000. I was present when he announced that he desired the freest expression of opinion on the matter of his stipend, and should relinquish the chair when the question came before the House. In contrast to this, it may be stated that Queen Liliuokalani drew $80,000 a year from the public treasury, and that her brother, the late King Kalakaua, died with $250,000 of private debts, in spite of the very munificent appropriations for his court and personal expenses.

How successful President Dole and his friends may be in arousing the ambition of the natives to become property-holders remains to be seen. By those who believe that these people can never be capable of intelligent interest in public affairs, the fact is noted that there is not,

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throughout the dominion, one person of strictly native blood possessed of property of the value of one thousand dollars. If this is rigorously true, which I am much inclined to doubt, it places the Hawaiian, in the matter of worldly energy and enterprise, on a lower plane than that here occupied by the Chinaman, or, in our own land, by the negro, because instances are not lacking where representatives of the latter race have acquired that mercantile or social distinction which is accorded in America to the possessor of wealth.

The President is his own chaplain at the opening of deliberations in the National Assembly. He makes a brief and expressive prayer to the Ruler of Nations as soon as the House is called to order.

The first applause for many days was manifest in the sitting of February 2d, when Minister Damon announced that the government had withdrawn the name of the post-office official, which it had been his design to invite from California to take charge at the central office of the city of Honolulu. This was a most unpopular movement. As the financier of the government, Minister Damon was also severely criticised for selling fifty thousand dollars in gold, instead of putting into circulation the more precious metal. Subsidy to a non-political publication, the liberty of the press (which is notably abused), Chinese immigration, and the representation of all classes in the government, are specimens of subjects which make the seat of a councilman anything but an easy one, and call for the greatest exercise of superior wisdom on the part of President Dole.

Although generally preferring to allow statements to go without explanation, I cannot forbear to add in a note to this letter, that the Queen received from the public treasury exactly the sum voted to President Dole, and that the remainder of the revenue named came from the crown lands which have been the property of the monarchy since the day of Kamehameha I.

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# TELEGRAPHIC ADVICES.

## ATTITUDE OF PRESIDENT DOLE AND MINISTER WILLIS.

HONOLULU, February 8, 1894.

PRESIDENT DOLE'S specifications of charges against President Cleveland and Minister Willis for threatening the Provisional Government give great satisfaction to the American element here. By those who know President Dole, it was never expected that he would withdraw any official communication. He is a man who weighs each word he says, and had Minister Willis insisted on the least apology, the minister might rather have received his passports. At the same time, the question of the compliance with the written request of the American minister was the most exciting topic here for days.

In this connection, the veracity of Admiral Irwin's statement is publicly challenged: that his ships were in fighting trim; that no officers nor men were allowed shore leave; that ammunition was brought from their magazines, — these facts are cited in proof of threats. The displacement of Skerrett, known to favor annexation, and the appointment of Irwin, were also disquieting.

Whatever the end, the whole Hawaiian affair is a sad injury to the missions. It was impossible for me to convince an intelligent, educated, half-caste member of a Congregational Church that there could be any Christianity in men who had dethroned the Queen, seized the treasury, voted themselves salaries, and especially had refused to abide by the decision of President Cleveland, their mutually chosen referee. The action of some of the Protestant ministers in taking annexation petitions into their churches for signature by the members is indeed very unfortunate for the cause of Christianity.

The government's armed force consists of whites, mostly of that undesirable class which otherwise would become tramps. They have no sense of devotion to the cause, but simply earn their living in a soldier's uniform. There is a large reserve force at the call of the authorities, composed of the Portuguese, who take musket and cartridge to their homes, and swear they will use it, if required, in defence of the Provisional

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Government. This is necessary in order to obtain the humblest employment from the departments of government.

You must not blame these men, said an educated Portuguese to me; they must find bread for their wives and children. How can they do it if no one will furnish employment? Joseph O. Carter lost his position as president of the Charles Brewer Company, and Peter C. Jones is elected. This change is due entirely to the royalist opinions of the former.

An immense order for cartridges has just gone forward, although those on hand have not been used. The provisionalists allow no person to hold office save declared annexationists.

The native and half-caste elements have no sympathy with annexation, and the few signatures obtained from them are given under duress of some kind. The government employee, whatever his position, who declines to sign the annexation petition, loses that moment his place. The Hawaiian Band, almost to a man, — in government service and pay for twenty years, — refused the oath of allegiance. The members disloyal to the Provisionalist party were dismissed and a new government band organized. When the latter gives free concerts, the natives and half-castes stay away. If the former plays on the public square, the grounds are crowded and the voluntary contributions are liberal.

President Dole is accessible to the poorest citizen, and all is done to conciliate every class. Even the Chinese, who regard the revolution with natural stoicism, must be kept from giving aid to the monarchy. It is advocated that the entire population register, so that there be no class legislation. The natives would rebel at this, but it is proposed in order to conciliate the advocates of Chinese registration.

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# THE HAWAIIAN RACE.

It cannot have escaped the attention of your readers that as yet I have no opinions of my own, and such ambiguity is intentional on my part. It is my effort to correctly record the statements, theories, and political position of any class with whom I may be invited to confer, and then, just as though I were the reporter for such persons, to place the result in proper form for the consideration of the public. Save to vouch now and then for a matter of fact, the final conclusion will come where it belongs, at the close of my sojourn here. At a crisis like the present, I believe the correspondent's duty to be fulfilled by stating, in the very strongest and best manner, the views of any and all persons who may be entitled to a hearing.

I have seen her Majesty, the Queen, and paid my respects to royalty just as though it had not fallen from its high estate. Of this I shall perhaps have more to say at a future time; suffice it now to add that she impressed me just as she ever has, — as a good, strong, dignified, and sensible woman, and this in spite of that which she said in her interview with Minister Willis. A New York lawyer, who came here fully primed all the way down by an annexationist and an American woman with those absurd stories which it is for the interest of the provisionalist to circulate, entirely impartial in his judgment, because he visits this city for a strictly business purpose, told me that he had written a voluntary communication to a leading paper of that metropolis so strong on just the opposite side that he doubted if it would ever be printed; as a consequence, both of his former friends, besides others to whom he was introduced by them, call him a rank royalist, and regard him with the darkest suspicions. "Why," said he, with that acumen natural to those of his profession in going to the root of such matters, "these very people have told each other and strangers within a year that the Queen was one of the most philanthropic, the most upright, Christian women in the whole land, and from careful inquiry I am sure that she is exactly that. Such has been her reputation for her whole lifetime,

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and a woman does not radically change for the worse after she is fifty years old."

But not with her Majesty, rather with those in whose hearts is cherished the spirit of loyalty to her, will this letter deal, chiefly in regard to one point; namely, the decay of the Hawaiian race. This has been industriously asserted by the American party, the reasoning being on this wise: in a few years there will be no natives, therefore it is as absurd to bring that element into the discussion as it would be to bias public interests in the United States by asking how it would affect the North American Indian. Now, is this true?

The house from which I have just returned contained a mixed company. There were two women present at our conclave whom I knew when first I visited Honolulu; there was one gentleman who has been intrusted by royalty with at least three most important foreign missions; another, a gentleman of wealth and leisure devoted to literary pursuits, but long a resident here. He was of European birth, and, besides myself, was, I think, the only person in a company of nine present in whose veins there ran no strain of Hawaiian blood. It is to him that I am indebted for the statistics contained in this article.

The census of 1890 gave to Hawaii a population of 90,000, of which the native and half-caste element amounted to 40,500; Japanese and Chinese, 27,500; Portuguese, 9,000; Hawaiian born of sundry nationalities, 7,500; all other foreigners (2,000 of these being Americans), 5,500, the nearest round number being used in these figures. The natives — Chinese, Portuguese, and other foreigners — have diminished since the census of 1872. The half-caste and Hawaiian-born have increased. The Japanese are a new element since that date.

Now briefly let us consider who are the voters to-day. There are but 14,000 in all; of these the natives have the majority, 9,550; the Portuguese and half-castes come next, with 2,100; of sundry nationalities (the British having of these 500, but excluding the American element), 1,700; the Americans, 650!

By the above facts and figures, it will be seen that the Americans form but two and one-fifth per cent. of the population, and less than five per cent. of the registered voters. Now, granting, for the sake of argument, that each and all were in favor of the present Provisional Government, and upholders of the recent attempt of some four or five of their number to convey (under a past administration) these islands to a foreign country on their memorable visit to Washington, does the world realize the astounding revelation of those statistics? That the

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pettiest of minorities should have obtained the notice accorded to it, is the wonder of those who are conversant with the facts. "Why, had these figures been before President Harrison, had he realized how little those adventurers were authorized to speak for the Hawaiian nation," says my informant, "he would not have given them audience."

"Allowing for differences of opinion," suggested another of the company, "and I could take you through a street and introduce you to many Americans there who have not the least sympathy with the revolt, there is not one per cent. of the population, or two per cent. of the registered voters, who thus claim the right to destroy the independence of a nation. It is conceded by some who gave the first revolutionists their adherence that there were not in that original body but two men who were entitled to universal respect. These were Messrs. Damon and Dole. Had it not been for their names and their influence, the movement could never have received even the limited support accorded to it."

One of the peculiarities of politics in Hawaii is a certain feature extorted from King Kalakaua at the point of the bayonet in 1887; this is, that abating not a jot of his rights as a citizen of a foreign power, the resident in Hawaii can take any part he chooses in governing the land; can sit in its executive and deliberate councils: in short, his position is exactly that of one born here, or one who has sworn allegiance to the Queen. "The great convenience of this may be seen at a glance. A man became a political nuisance; we endeavored to discipline him; he went to his consul on board a ship of his flag, and we were powerless. Do you think any other country in the world would have borne that for fifteen years? And yet they blame our Queen because she wished to frame a new constitution."

This from another side of the house.

"But why did Kalakaua consent to it?" I asked.

"Why, indeed? It deserves its name; it is, and has always been called, 'The Bayonet Constitution.' He would have lost his life, had he refused. His sister spoke with truth when she said that she would never be safe as long as these men remained in the land; that they had killed her brother."

"Killed? Yes, just as truly as it is an historic fact that there was a committee of five, the names of whom would surprise you, should I mention them (for they went early into this very revolution), who were bound for the public good to execute King Kalakaua, as the vigilance committee executed the roughs of San Francisco, had he continued in his obstinacy that he would not sign the constitution of 1887. And

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now those very men are writing letters on the bloodthirstiness of a barbarian Queen. And why? Because she stated that it was her judgment that such persons should be dealt with in Hawaii just exactly as they would be treated to-day under like circumstances by the Queen of Most Christian England or the Emperor of Most Enlightened Germany."

But to return to the rate of increase or decrease of the Hawaiian race. In 1866 this had lost for six years an average of 1,400 a year, or twelve per cent. of the population; in 1890, it had lost an average of 600 per year, or but eight per cent. of the native population. During the same six years the half-castes have increased by some 2,000 souls, and this latter is the coming Hawaiian race. Of this there is not the least doubt. The missionaries in 1850 calculated that in forty years the native race would have ceased to exist. Their period of limitation has been over for three years, yet, excluding the Japanese and Chinese, whose stay is merely temporary, we are still two-thirds of the entire population of Hawaii.

This race, and by half-caste is meant here any mixture of native or pure Hawaiian blood, has every element of vitality. The males and females are almost equal in numbers. These are, at the present time, almost exclusively in early manhood or womanhood, more than half being under fifteen years of age; thus proving that the movement toward fertility has but just commenced. They are astoundingly strong, handsome, and healthy. Why should this not be so since they have the natural physique which comes with an out-of-door life joined to the intelligence, but not the bodily feebleness, of civilization? The women are handsome, very sweet-tempered, affectionate, and graceful. They are zealously sought in marriage by those of the whiter races who make of these islands a permanent home. You will find no pleasanter houses than that of one of these happily married couples, and none which will more rapidly fill up with healthy, happy children.

But in their national affiliations it is not to Boston, to London, nor to Berlin that they direct their eyes. No, it was here that they were born; here is the land of their love. Has America shown in her treatment of those of mixed blood, or in those of the darker complexions, anything for which these, the true Hawaiians, should desire annexation? What is the social position of the African race in the land of equal rights? How many ladies do you know with ever so slight a tinge to their beautiful faces who could be received in the best society of New York, or even of Boston, and treated with exactly the same consideration as though their fathers and mothers showed the purest of Caucasian blood?

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Suppose we do multiply and begin to emigrate to the Union, how long will it be before you will pass a Hawaiian exclusion bill as you have passed one against the Chinese? No, I thank you; you keep your own nationality, and let us keep ours. Would you stain the flag of the land, which we own we love as the escutcheon of our ancestry, by forcing us to be one of its territorial possessions, acquired contrary to the will and wishes of the great majority of the voters, or of the entire population? for our sisters are not a whit less patriotic than we are in saying, if there is one right to which we have a legitimate claim, surely it is the right to national existence.

One of the most common of assertions is that the Hawaiians are incapable of self-government. When, it may be asked, did they have any opportunity to demonstrate either this or its opposite? From the very first they have, in their good-natured hospitality carried into politics, allowed the foreign, and especially the missionary, element the utmost freedom in assuming to direct national affairs. They have been subjected to all the cabals of the contending parties amongst these residents, so that cabinet has plotted against cabinet without any regard whatsoever for the good of the nation, but simply with the determination to overthrow some rival faction. The strongest government in Europe could not exist if those of alien birth and sympathies were allowed such privileges as have been accorded by the island race to their visitors, or temporary residents in Honolulu; for it is this one city which has assumed to govern the kingdom in the past as it assumes now to speak for us to the civilized world of to-day.

The bill for fixing the President's salary has been amended so that he is to receive $1,000 a month instead of $10,000 a year.

The new minister of foreign affairs will probably be Francis M. Hatch, a lawyer, formerly of New Hampshire, and for a time vice-president of the Provisional Government. He is now president of the Annexation Club.

That President Dole, as soon as relieved by Mr. Hatch, will devote himself to the final draft of his new constitution, so that a republic will be announced within a few days, is a rumor gaining ground just as this mail is leaving.

That whenever promulgated, the native element will in reality be disfranchised by the property clause, and the other nationalities by the limitation in regard to reading and writing the English language, is nearer to fact than to rumor, so it appears to me. This will place the rule of the nation in the hands of the very men who offered to convey

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it to the American Union, for it is quite improbable that the English, or other foreign residents, will take much part in the affairs of the incipient commonwealth.

Amongst other rumors may be mentioned the following: —

That the younger portion of the American party are now saying that if it is not to be annexation, they would far prefer to return to the old *regime*. And the reason is this. They say if the present clique are to rule the country, it will be entirely under the dominion of those of the strictest religious opinions; that it is this very party who have in the past frowned on all sports, established as law the most Puritanic of Sabbaths, tried to prevent the sale of so much as a glass of beer in the whole kingdom, and in all other manners have endeavored to restrain the personal habits of those of the white settlers who had no sympathy with such restrictions. If they did this when the latter had something to say, what will be their course now that they are an absolute despotism? For this cause the very young men who voluntarily shouldered a musket a year ago for the defence of the government now look lovingly back to the days of monarchy, rather than hopefully forward to the coming republic. This statement comes to me from an officer in that first army, a man now in the service of the most active of the Provincialist party, although no longer in the military.

The strained relations existing between President Dole and Minister Willis give color to the rumor that the latter is already looking up the date on which a comfortable passage can be taken from hence to San Francisco; in other words, that he will notify President Cleveland by this mail that he desires to be relieved from a position which daily grows more embarrassing.

The organization of a new Board of Education is giving the President some anxiety. He states that he wishes to have all nations and creeds represented; his best attempts, however, seem to be fruitless, when he goes outside the pale of the Congregational churches. He has found no Catholic willing to serve, and in this he experiences the usual trouble with the traditional conservatism of those of that faith. The British also ask to be excused, and I presume the Hawaiians have not been invited to nominate one of their number. The Roman Catholics have at present the largest denominational following in the land, and it is increasing almost daily.

The throne, crown, and all insignia of royalty are to be on exhibition at the California Midwinter Fair, and a considerable portion of the late Queen's official belongings have already been shipped to San Francisco.

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Perhaps it was thought that should her Majesty be restored, the fact of forcing her to sit in an ordinary arm-chair, with no more on her brow than a smile of satisfaction, would deprive the occasion of its brilliancy or success as a royalistic pageant.

The official who had been invited from California to take charge of the post-office arrived according to contract, but the government did not dare put him in possession of his office. There were some stormy scenes between employers and employed. What the result was no one knows, but the official has sent for his family; this confirms the statement of a native to me that all positions will be filled by partisans of annexation, even if they must be imported for their places.

As though there were not enough activity on the surface, the celebrated volcano shows signs of a grand eruption; earthquakes make the land tremble around the home of Pélé, the fire-god; the lake of molten lava is making inroads on the more stable soil; there are indications of a fine display of fire fountains. I leave for that locality to-morrow, and may spend two nights at the summit. This is the last mail to San Francisco, save by a sailing-vessel, for a period of three weeks, and the long interval gives me the opportunity to ascertain the sentiments of the native population on the other islands.

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# TWO HAWAIIAN ROYALISTS.

In those consistent but extreme views held by Count Leo Tolstoï, he accepts the words of Holy Writ in their literal sense, and asserts "that ye resist not evil" is the first command of the new dispensation. The Mosaic showed the world under the law of eye for eye and tooth for tooth; the Christian, the crucified Master, when twelve legions of angels could have rescued him from his slayers. The little world of Honolulu, while not in a state of civil war, exhibits at the present time all those phases of mutual disagreement and division which are consequent upon war, and its necessary disregard of this precept and those which come where the heated passions of the one side are opposed to the equally obstinate will of the other. Slowly and surely it is becoming necessary for every person in public or official position in this city to be pronounced against royalty or retire to inaction and private life. In the case of the laborer, it means bread to the family; in the case of the office-holder, it means sign the annexation petition or resign your place; even in the case of the business manager of large experience and undoubted integrity, it means that unless he disclaims all sympathy with fallen royalty, another president's name must head the list.

The house of C. Brewer & Co. needs no introduction to Boston readers. It is the oldest house in business in Hawaii, its organization dating from the very earliest missionary times. It is now an incorporated company, $600,000 capital, and its officers and stockholders include some of the ablest of the American colonists. Its president and manager was, until a day or two ago, Mr. Joseph O. Carter, a man of the most undoubted integrity, born on the islands, and dwelling here (with the exception of some seven years, when he was receiving his education at Chauncy Hall, Boston) for his whole lifetime. But Mr. Carter believed that it was his duty to observe the oath of fidelity he had taken to her Majesty, the constitutional monarch of the land. His name appears on the letter in which she promises amnesty, and he was the messenger who originally carried to President Dole the protest, and saw

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it indorsed with a note of reception by that official. He has, since the dethronement, nothing whatever to do with the Queen. He never sees her save when she might send for him, as a business man would summon his attorney. This he considers he is bound by his oath to do, for he swore that whenever she desired counsel from his lips, he would give it and to the best of his ability. He has taken no public part whatever in the present revolution, appearing in no capacity before the people as an advocate of royalty or adherent of the present government. But for all this, his sentiments were well known, if not as publicly expressed, as are those of Hon. T. H. Davies. It was certain that he believed the reform party went too far, that he considered the Queen to be the legitimate ruler of the country. No provincialist, no partisan, has ever been known to so much as hint against the personal character of either Mr. Carter or Mr. Davies.

Yet at the meeting of the Company, after having once, prior to this meeting, spread upon its records a condemnation of Mr. Carter's political sentiments, he was officially beheaded; he loses his position and his income. Mr. Peter C. Jones, one of the original revolutionists, a man of equally high character, for years connected with the house, was elected to the presidency. Mr. Jones is well known in Boston, his father being one of the typical old Boston merchants. He came around Cape Horn to this city nearly forty years ago, and is a man of about sixty years of age. He often visits the East, and is most highly esteemed in business, social, and ecclesiastical circles.

The government would also like to discipline Mr. T. H. Davies, but it is not so easy to punish him, and he speaks and writes against the self-elected ruler with all the vigor of a man conscious that, to his view, he has the eternal principle of right upon his side. He is a British subject, was formerly the vice-consul of that power, is a man of great wealth and education, and, as has been before said, is the guardian of the Princess Kaiulani, the next in succession to the throne. His position and his ideas of the difference between our government and that of Great Britain are well displayed in the following statement, which came to me from his own lips: —

"Fifty years ago," he said, "there was a hot-headed British captain in this harbor. He landed a force of marines, pulled down the Hawaiian flag, and ran up the British flag. In due time, the admiral of the fleet arrived, and Lord George Paulet was told to pull down that British flag, run up the Hawaiian flag, and give the latter a national salute, which was done. There is no name dearer to the people of

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Hawaii than that of Admiral Thomas. A square is named for him, his portrait is hung among those of the Kamehamehas, and his name is spoken with love unto this day. There is one picture; now for another.

"In 1893 there was a hot-headed American captain afloat and an equally hot-headed American minister ashore. The force of marines was landed, and again the Hawaiian ensign was pulled down, the colors of an alien power taking its place. The President decided that his own representatives had acted unjustifiably; but— Well, the end is not yet."

Whatever the merits of the above contrast, from my general acquaintance with the course of Great Britain throughout the world, I think it is typical of the strength and weakness of the two nations. The former is the distinguishing trait of the British Government in all acts under its foreign policy; the latter is our reputation, both in matters of diplomacy or in insults or abuses offered to our citizens or seamen in foreign parts.

Mr. Davies may yet find in his own person an example of the value of British protection. As he has business connections with British Columbia, has resided there, and is now the local agent for the line of mail steamers plying between Vancouver and Australia, touching at this port, when recently it was said that an army to reseat the Queen was being recruited on British soil, the attorney-general summoned Mr. Davies to his office, and questioned him very closely upon the alleged movement and his own connection therewith; to which the accused made the very proper and natural reply that he knew nothing whatever about the affair, and considered it a canard. He also added, and this would be said of him by any person who knows him, that his name would never be seen amongst those of traitors or conspirators. He has been a resident, from time to time, of Honolulu since 1857, and is favorably known for his support of Christian and philanthropic movements. But he is outspoken in his assertion that it is a dangerous precedent to violate the law of nations, or to subvert, by violence, constituted authority. One of the government organs has an editorial indirectly advocating his deportation.

Had President Cleveland been a second Admiral Thomas, the army which would have repelled, if possible, the United States forces would have been composed of the very flower of the American residents. I have listened to private letters written at that time, in which wives renounced husbands, mothers gave up only sons, and there was every sentiment of that high-toned patriotism which was so general during the

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great Southern Rebellion; for it was distinctly believed in Honolulu, not only from the President's attitude and his message, but from Admiral Irwin, that force was to be used. No officers nor men were allowed shore-leave from the naval vessels. It has even been said that the admiral transferred to places of shelter his own wife and daughter; that ammunition was brought up from below, and that every preparation was made for war. So the people of Honolulu, from President Dole to the humblest citizen, expected to see the Provisional Government attacked at any moment; and the Hawaiian President is right when he says that Minister Willis stood in an attitude of menace which he declined to explain. The specifications of President Dole give great satisfaction to his friends here; that he would ever, at the request of the minister, withdraw or apologize for any line of conduct, no one who knows of what stuff he is made would as much as intimate. Perhaps, were it not for the fact that it might prejudice the cause of annexation, Minister Willis would be told plainly that he is *persona non grata*, and thus be required to buy his ticket for Washington.

It must be remembered that the one end of all movements made by the present government and its sympathizers is annexation; for all that they are perfectly willing to admit with reason that fusion with the American Union will never be the portion of Hawaii; yet there is scarcely an American here but what fondles the delusion in his heart. This is because such has been their ideal for years. It is the only thing, they say, which will insure peace, harmony, and good government, and they fail to realize that although such was the profession of the first Americans who came here, none the less is it true that the American Union was not organized, nor is it continued as a national missionary board for the relief of those abroad desiring purity in politics or integrity and wisdom in ruling nations of commingled blood.

There are some encouraging and some disheartening aspects in the present condition of things. Amongst the former may be mentioned the surprising ease with which nineteen men can govern a nation, even under the most adverse circumstances. For Hawaii is now governed by just that number, and this includes one who has not been yet selected, namely, the new minister of foreign affairs, that office being now segregated from the presidency; and the nation is well governed, the finances especially being in a most wholesome condition. May not our cities learn a lesson here, even our States? As Hawaii is now governed there is no difficulty in fixing responsibility: it is on these nineteen men; but in Massachusetts, with our numberless commissions, organized

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mostly for the purpose of political reward, our governor's council, a totally useless and often obstructive body, our two houses of deliberation, we have far too much machinery.

The saddest part of it is the great injury in the native mind the whole affair has been to the cause of Christian missions. It is useless to argue with the man of prejudice, and the native cannot be blamed if he is prejudiced in favor of his own queen, his traditional government, and especially his own right to be a nation amongst nations. It is just as useless to explain to him that these are not missionaries, that a majority of the whole civil list never had anything to do with missions. To him the American party and the missionary party are synonymous terms. The circulation of annexation petitions in the Protestant churches was a most impolitic move, and the contrast in the Catholic churches, where nothing but the worship of God is allowed, cannot fail to be noticed by the more intelligent and the half-castes. Protestants who are not in sympathy with the revolutionary movement speak to me of this every day, although it does not appear that the priests count much on the secession which the Protestant natives allege is going on. These simply go about their ecclesiastical duties as they do in all lands ; they take not the least part in any of the demonstrations, nor can they be expected to, for the mission was founded by the French in 1827, and established on a firm basis by the action of the French Government in 1839. But whatever the form of Christianity, every true man must feel sad to see it lose its hold on the people, especially where these have nothing toward which they may turn. Dr. Johnson stated a great truth when he said that without realizing his obligation to a higher power than anything human, man could not live a virtuous or upright life.

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# THE GOVERNMENT OF HAWAII.

"WHEN the former government was overthrown," I began, in conversation with a gentleman who had for many years represented Hawaii in foreign parts.

"Let me correct your language right there," he interrupted. "The government of the Hawaiian islands has never been overthrown, and it never will be. It rests on a foundation which has stood the changes of half a century. The only modification to which it is subject is that of annexation to the United States."

This was a new view of the situation, and in this letter will be presented the views of this official and those with whom I have talked who sympathize with him. Some of my informants have been members of the fallen cabinets of royalty.

What was the government of the Hawaiian islands up to the 17th of January, 1893? Who directed the voice of the nation? Who furnished the money by which national improvements, hospitals, schools, leper settlements, and all other public works were directed, supported, and sustained?

To whom is all this due to-day?

To identically the same party, almost to the same individuals.

There, in brief, is stated the side of the provisionalists, their very right to being to-day.

Are they a company of filibusters who have landed here, seized the reins of power with intent to drive the chariot of state at their own pleasure and for their own profit? Far from it. Had this been their position, the inexperienced hand would have been manifest, and to its own destruction.

The fact is just this: brains will tower above brute force; intelligence joined with activity must lead; money is accumulated labor, and the millions amassed by the few will overpower the petty stipend paid daily to the many, and so divided as to be deprived of its force.

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This has always been recognized in Hawaii. The American missionaries and their descendants have always, from the earliest days, been the power behind the throne. They have now swept aside that piece of furniture; it had survived its usefulness, and its destruction simply disclosed to the view of nations the real rulers of the Hawaiian people. These continued to govern; they did not initiate government. Had they done the latter, there would have been anarchy and strife; as they did the former, there has been nought but harmony and peace.

Who put Kalakaua on the throne?

Who counselled him, directed the kingdom, not only while he nominally appointed a cabinet, but during his long absence from these shores, during his pleasure-trip around the globe? These very men who have now told his sister that they fail to see any advantage in yielding to her further voice in public affairs. Fifty years ago there were but two rulers of the nation, — King Hiram and my Lord Judd. Rev. Hiram Bingham governed the native element throughout the island kingdom; Dr. C. P. Judd sat in the palace, and wrote the decrees with his own hand which regulated trade, habits, and usages in Honolulu, the royal race of Kamehamehas doing no more than to affix a pen-scratch to the spot on which the doctor's right arm held the pen. To-day the legitimate successors of these, in reality the titular dynasty of the land, govern the nation, and it is well governed, because they have the prestige of long succession, the wisdom which comes by decades of experience.

They were never the servants of royalty. The latter was their mouthpiece to a part of the people as long as the reigning monarch spoke words of truth, of Christian purport, and for the good of all the people. The men who put those words into the English language were glad to sustain the throne.

When, in place of financial integrity, a system of legalized gambling was promulgated by the Queen, so that the families of the day-laborer would be robbed of bread; when the despotism of Siam was to supplant a constitution founded on that of Queen Victoria; when the barbarism, sensuality, and heathenism of centuries past were proclaimed and practised, rather than the principles of Christ's Sermon on the Mount, — then the men who had always made the laws, who had furnished the means and directed the forces which sustained the government, simply said, —

"The voice of the executive is no longer the voice of God, and that there may be no misunderstanding in future, we will execute his decrees for the present by a council of those who believe in him, not through one person who openly defies him and his precepts."

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"And," say my informants, "we should have been partakers in iniquity if we had not acted exactly as we did. Perhaps you may assert that we should have promulgated the Queen's lottery bill; that we should have seen the people bow their necks to the Siamese despotism; that we should have assented to the revival of pagan practices; that we ought willingly to have paid of our substance into a treasury the disbursements of which were in no manner under our control; but the wisest of us cannot see how a person with any regard for civilization, morals, or Christianity can advocate or even approve such a course. We stand just where we always have stood, save that we have conciliated, modified, and even submitted, for twenty years, accepting the royal promise of good government. When there was no longer hope of the latter, save through ourselves, then, and not until then, did we most unwillingly, and as an unwelcome duty, assume the executive as well as the legislative functions."

Now for the facts in support of this statement of the views of the American party. No one can contest their allegation that it is by their wisdom and intelligence that kings have reigned and princes decreed judgment. Further: By whose money has the royal household been supported? Who paid for the trip of Kalakaua around the world? Who paid the expenses of the royal party which visited Boston a few years ago? The foreign residents, chiefly those of American lineage. These were the men whom the Queen would have disfranchised; these are the men who, in the event of her restoration, could not have stayed in the country under penalty of death.

King Kalakaua's tour was, to some extent, a factor in the trouble. Of all the potentates he saw, none pleased him so well as the ruler of Siam. He there beheld an absolute monarch, with a standing army, with no power behind the throne, with prerogatives the exercise of which meant death to this man or preferment to that one. Ah, this it was to be king! This was a monarchy worthy the successor to the great Kamehameha! He had met his ideal; he landed at Honolulu determined to make it a living reality. But he had neglected to notice that in Siam there was no party of intelligence, Christianity, and wealth. But the heathen, in his blindness, made a desperate attempt to change the American commonwealth into the Siamese despotism, and utterly failed. He sullenly accepted defeat, and the constitution wrung from him by those who now govern Hawaii is called the "Bayonet Constitution" unto this day. He had a sister, Mrs. Lydia Dominis, governess of the island on which Honolulu is built. What did she say? That, if

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she had been ruling in his place, that constitution would never have been granted; that she would have shown the American party and the world who was the ruling monarch of Hawaii.

Her time, too, came, and she fulfilled her own prophecy, with what result the people already know. She had one great obstacle with which to contend, which, to her brother, was but a coming event overshadowing the future. What was this?

The power of wealth. Where, years ago, her opponents were many of them on the verge of bankruptcy, they now were rich and prosperous; out of debt at home, and with liberal credit abroad, they felt that independence which the full purse only can give.

It is strange with what unerring accuracy intuition at times takes the place and renders the service of reason or education. When, in 1867, I listened to the debate in Parliament on the reciprocity treaty, I noticed a great timidity on the part of the native members to commit themselves in its favor. And why? Because they regarded it as a sort of first lien on the nation, by which their country was mortgaged to a stronger power — a power which would not hesitate to take the pound of flesh, and would rejoice to draw therewith the blood of Hawaii.

It took all the Websterian phraseology of Hon. Stephen H. Phillips, seconded by the fiery eloquence of the half-caste interpreter, Ragsdale, to persuade the native that the reciprocity treaty was to the advantage of the kingdom; even then, it was not until 1875 that it went into force. Its effect on the mercantile world of Honolulu was instantaneous. Men who had scarcely known what the future had in store for them, now found themselves acquiring financial, and, consequently, social strength. They no longer were ground down by that dependence on circumstances which comes with a consciousness of limited means. They had vastly more at stake, and they had more power and ability at command by which to defend their all. Government is organized for the protection of life and property; only good government can accord such protection. They claim this as a right, and that no law, human or divine, obliges them to abandon hearth and home, to desert the fruits of a life-work, — and for what? That a nation may return to the heathenism and wickedness from which it has been redeemed by American blood. Will it do this? Most certainly, they reply. If, in an instant, the influence of the descendants of the missionaries could be obliterated, if the ex-Queen should be taken at her word, and all that element which has opposed her should be deported, it would not be one generation before the last state of this people would be worse than the first, and this paradise of

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the Pacific would become a hell of bad passions. The question of their confiscated property needs no consideration; the Queen and her followers would soon lose it all. Her brother, with enormous revenues, left $250,000 in private debts.

We have fought for annexation, in order to be sure that no such catastrophe will ever befall the human race; for it is not only Hawaii that will suffer in the event of our failure, but the whole fraternity of civilized nations. Have not the American people encouraged us to believe that we would be admitted to the Union? We do not claim any treaty obligations on the American side; but have not Webster, Frelinghuysen, Blaine, and other statesmen, by their public utterances plainly manifested this intention? If you lead a person to believe that you mean to do a certain thing, is he not justified in acting under the impression that when the time comes you can be depended on to do it? This is just what we did when we assumed that the executive power in front of us for the future would not be the fiat of one unreasonable woman, but rather that central government at Washington which we had respected from our infancy. We have told you the representations which we believe justify our faith in annexation; can you point out to us one public or official utterance prior to 1893 which discourages this hope and expectation on our part?

Mr. John L. Stevens, when United States minister, encouraged and advised annexation, so it is said. For the sake of argument, let this be admitted as truth; what does it prove, save that Mr. Stevens was in accord with all his brother statesmen who have studied the relations between Hawaii and the United States?

As a fact, however, had Mr. Stevens been in town a day or two earlier, it is probable that the ex-Queen would still be on her throne; for he stated at that time that all the weight of his influence, personal and official, joined to that of other foreign ministers, would have been given to the effort to persuade the Queen to desist from those extreme measures which precipitated the revolt. That this would have been the course of Mr. Stevens, that he would have had a fair chance of success, I cannot doubt. Of the former I feel absolutely sure, because direct testimony of those to whom he expressed that determination is at my command. Then, Mr. Stevens insists that he did not aid and abet the revolt, and does the public realize the circumstances under which the late American minister's account of himself was written?

Far be it from me to do more than to gently lift the veil which shrouds a fond parent's sorrow, yet the simple fact may be stated here. Full

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of life, hope, and daring, a talented daughter was his when the morning sun lit up the mountain-tops. Claimed by grim death as his own, unchanged by any illness and unmarked by any disease, the form from which the spirit had fled rested through that night in the adjacent chamber to that in which the minister was writing to his government his account of the Hawaiian revolution. And through the long, silent night, when his fingers were wearied by the pen, or his eyesight dimmed over the manuscript, a walk into the next room, with a look into the quiet face of the dead girl, gave Mr. Stevens the strength to go on with his work. There are certain places on the islands where there is no landing for a small boat, so the coasting-steamer approaches the crag from which, by cage or basket, the passenger is lowered from the overhanging precipice, and landed on deck. It was by such attempt that Miss Stevens lost her life. The body was recovered almost instantly, but the soul had fled.

"I tell you," exclaimed the naval officer, from whom I heard the touching story, "that under such circumstances a man is very likely to tell nothing but absolute truth."

And thus it was that, with nothing to extenuate, and nought to set down in malice, Minister Stevens told to the American people the first tale of his own agency in the revolutionary movement at Honolulu. I have faithfully reported in this article the strongest arguments of those in full sympathy with the cause of annexation, which he — more than any other one American — represents.

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# AMERICA IN HAWAII.

"A LITTLE leaven leaveneth the whole lump" is a proverb that may well be applied to the city of Honolulu, if not to the whole Hawaiian nation. This leaven is Americanism. The latest instance of this was seen in the celebration of Washington's Birthday. The speeches were excellent. They would have done credit to a like celebration had it been held in Boston. There were some indirect allusions to the parallel between two situations and the Hawaiian crisis: those of 1776 and revolt against George III. and the French Revolution. Taxation without representation was contrasted with the refusal of the planters to submit to disfranchisement while still paying nine-tenths of the cost of the support of government; yet little was publicly said to which any person of contrary sympathies could take exception. There was a general suspension of business; stores closed at one o'clock; the evening newspaper of provisionalist faith was not published. At the celebration, both President Dole and Minister Willis forgot their diplomatic difficulties; the war-ships were gayly decorated, and fired national salutes. In a word, the occasion was made a day of the exaltation of patriotism, love of liberty and hero-worship, and there was not a jar or discord to mar its harmony.

The community here has nothing to learn should it ever become a part of the American Union; for, although the Americans are numerically in a hopeless minority, they are in an immense majority in influence upon their associate residents. For example, who but those still Americans would have thought of the custom of holding a mock election on the day of our presidential election? Yet this has been done in Honolulu for years, and sometimes as many as a thousand votes are cast. One of the best jokes I have heard is that, according to this plebiscite, President Cleveland is now the choice of those who are reviling him. It seems that, at his first candidacy, Blaine was elected, because he had favored reciprocity and annexation. Wily diplomate that he was, his speeches may be quoted on both sides of the question. I have seen paragraphs taken from them which would appear to be for non-interven-

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tion, and, on the contrary, since I have been here a two-column article has been printed, entirely from him, as an annexation document. But Mr. Cleveland was elected in spite of the Hawaiian vote. It is contested by few that he made a good record as an Executive and deserved another term, so at his last nomination the American vote in Hawaii was given to our present honored Chief Magistrate; but there are few here who like to have this fact repeated, nor would he now get a vote.

The first move toward a permanent government has been made by the appointment of a committee to prepare a draft for a constitutional convention. The plan can only be outlined at present, but it will probably be something like this: The first principle of all public movements here at this critical epoch in island history is, that no person not in full sympathy with the existing government can have much to do with private affairs, and nothing at all with public matters. This, it is asserted, is in perfect harmony with the course of Britain under the Commonwealth, after the deposition of King Charles, or America under Washington after the rupture with George III. So the delegates to the Hawaiian convention will not be chosen by the people. The annexation clubs throughout the land, or organizations of their principles, will send delegates to the seat of government, and, even when organized, the convention will have no more than an advisory agency in the work. The work of constructing a nation will be done by the nineteen men now holding the reins of power. Thus it will be seen there can be no counter-revolution, for the present government will condemn or approve each measure, and there will be no appeal from its absolute fiat. This policy will be continued in admitting the people to suffrage; Chinese, Japanese, all who neither read nor write the English language, and those below a certain property qualification (say, an income of $600 a year, or the possession of property to an amount not less than $1,000) being excluded. But the limitation will not cease there: an oath of loyalty to the existing government will be a condition precedent to registration as a voter. After throwing out the votes of the above-excluded classes, it will be readily seen that the total vote of the whole Hawaiian nation, of a population of ninety thousand souls, will be reduced to its lowest terms. Were I to guess, I should put the extreme limit of registration at three thousand ballots, and certainly at the first election all ballots cast will be by the missionary party.

I have used the term "missionary party" because it designates those in sympathy with American rule. Like many other terms in popular use, it is absolutely mistaken language, and conveys a false impression to

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those without full knowledge of the community. The first persons who settled here were, beyond dispute, missionaries, nor is there essential error in the application of the same word to those not strictly preachers who came with them, such as printers, supply agents, physicians, and others, who had the missionary spirit but not the theological education. These were at first under appointment from the American Board, were responsible to it, and early historians cannot be blamed if they failed to recognize any difference between them and their ecclesiastical brethren. Many, nay, most, of the so-called missionary party of to-day are not in any relation whatever with missions.

But the original missionaries being, with scarce an exception, married, large families grew up around them; their sons and daughters intermarried. These children, two generations removed from the ecclesiastics, engaged in ordinary mercantile affairs: they became doctors, lawyers, sugar-planters, or importers; they invited accessions to their number from their families or friends at the East. It is now seventy-four years since the first missionaries came, but to this day the term is universally applied to that part of the community who, by the remotest connection of blood, business alliance, or even natural sympathy, recognize the worthy calling of the first emigrants.

The largest landed proprietors on the Hawaiian islands not only had nothing to do with the mission, but are not in sympathy with the faith or politics of most of their descendants. The land tenure of Hawaii was, up to 1846, very peculiar in character. The king, then Kamehameha III., owned all the land; under him, the chiefs held tracts after the old feudal manner. But he, with consummate wisdom and natural love for his people, voluntarily announced a revolution in land tenure. He gave about one-half of all the lands of the kingdom in small holdings to the natives, reserving the moiety for the purpose of creating a national revenue. This is the starting-point to the titles to real estate in the domain unto this day. It did not accomplish all that the good king hoped. The native did not become a thriving peasant, nor seek, like the hardier races, to build a home for himself and his children. He sold his birthright for a mess of pottage, that traditional term being represented by a horse, new raiment, a feast to his friends, or any other transient gratification; if the sale was not absolute at first, it became so by default in a mortgage, of which he only thought when he signed it and received the consideration. The white residents were importuned with prayers and tears to advance money to the simple people, for whose convenience they often waited, not months, but years,

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thereafter, without receiving a dollar of principal or interest. Finally, in the course of a half-century, the land of the domain is mostly held by the white race, and little by the native. But it is in spite of all that has been done for the Hawaiian people, and not on account of it. Yet, as most improvident persons condemn, not themselves, but others, so, through ignorance, the native race point to the prosperity of the missionary descendants on the one side, and their own penury on the other, as instances of the oppressor and the oppressed. And those who might learn better if they would but take the pains to talk as I have with the land conveyancers or others familiar with the transactions, as recorded officially for forty years, those politically opposed to Americans take up the cry and speak of the land-grabbing missionaries — an inexcusable blunder, if not a base slander. The largest land-holder in the kingdom, who acquired immense tracts by at least questionable means, Claus Spreckels, is a pronounced royalist, does little or nothing for the native race, and will not be suspected of any alliance with missionaries. That which is true of Mr. Spreckels is true of others in sympathy with his views. Not that he or men like him do any wrong to the natives, but their benevolence, if they have it, takes no active form; they, let us agree, keep the commandments. But the very persons whom they accuse of conveying to a foreign power the nationality of Hawaii, without its consent, have not relaxed that noble effort for the good of their dark-skinned neighbor which inspired the little band sailing from Boston in 1820.

At one end of the city is the Kamehameha School for boys of the native race, founded by the late Mrs. C. R. Bishop, a daughter of that royal race, and munificently endowed by her husband, who may well be styled the George Peabody of Hawaii. The entire property of this lady (and she was heir to immense estates) was bequeathed by her to the establishment of training-schools, and the one already erected is for boys. It is a building which would do honor to any community, and, with its workshops, dormitories, and pleasure-grounds, occupies an area of fifty acres within half an hour's ride of the centre of the city. There are ten instructors and a little over a hundred pupils. The charge is merely nominal, forty-two dollars a year covering tuition, board, and all necessities of the manual training. When the boys leave, they are fitted to earn at once full pay in their chosen mechanical art.

Kawaiahao Seminary for girls is at the other end of the city, is under the auspices of the American Mission, has about the same average number of attendants, and for the reason that this was doing so much for

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Hawaiian girls, that part of the will of Mrs. Bishop relating to the education of native boys was first executed by her husband, who has royally endowed, by his independent means, the Kamehameha School.

These are but instances of the results to the native race of the work of the missionaries. I might go on and enumerate Oahu College, founded by the missionaries in 1841, for the education of their own children, similar institutions on the other islands, or the general system of common schools similar to our own, by which there is no district so remote but what gives to the poorest child the advantages of a common school education absolutely without charge.

But this brief notice of education is made for one purpose; namely, to say that very many of those in the manual training-school, at the girls' school, or in other educational institutions, are supported by the men who are charged with enmity to the native race, and with profiting by their decline. But that it has been my policy to avoid the mention of names, I could speak of citizens who thus educate six, ten, even twelve Hawaiian youths, with absolutely no motive save that which brought their ancestors to these shores.

All men are human. If they do their best, it is often to find themselves victims of their faults or their virtues. The missionaries should not be judged by their blunders, if they made such, but by their aims. They, their children, their associates, loved the native race, sought their elevation and improvement, and they have never relaxed their efforts for the good of this people.

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# HAWAIIAN ANNEXATION.

THESE articles, as hitherto published, are not, as a whole, a statement of my sentiments; they are the reflection of the views of those with whom I have been brought in contact. Besides an extensive acquaintance gained by means of four visits to the Pacific, two years' residence at San Francisco, and nearly half a year's residence in Honolulu, I brought thirty-five letters of introduction to the latter city, most of these being to those in sympathy with the present government. Dr. John S. McGrew, one of the first persons I met when here before, with that hospitality to the stranger which nowhere in the world is to be found so universally as in Hawaii, gave me a cottage in his private grounds the very day of my arrival. It is to be supposed, therefore, that I am not ignorant of all that can be said in favor of annexing Hawaii to the American Union. For whatever I say on this subject now, I desire to be personally responsible, as expressing my own mature judgment. Let us not impeach the good intent, the loyalty to republican institutions, or the patriotism of those who now seek to make this alliance; but, like the maid who would avoid an ill-assorted marriage with one she respects but does not love, let us be firm in our refusal.

Let us have no more words about Minister Stevens. It is petty, partisan warfare. Grant, just for the moment, if you wish, that fault can be found with his acts, what one of us is free from liability to err? Minister Stevens was a good, honest, patriotic American, doing as he thought best for the honor and glory of his country. If he made a mistake in judgment, let us simply make no more.

The idea of annexation did not originate with him; but if there is one man to whom it should be assigned, that man is Dr. J. S. McGrew. Twenty years before Mr. Stevens ever saw Hawaii, Dr. McGrew stated in the strongest terms to me, as he did to about every person who would talk on the subject, that these islands should be, and would be, a part of the United States. This is so notable a fact that in an island edition of a commercial journal given to me by Hon. Gorham D. Gilman of Boston, but published in San Francisco, May 1, 1892, I find these words: —

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"Dr. McGrew is by no means backward in expressing the hope that he will yet see these lovely islands a part of the United States, and live under the protection of the starry banner. He believes that this country rightfully belongs to America, and if the question of annexation ever becomes a political issue, he will undoubtedly be looked to to take a decided part in the movement."

The last few words simply show how dangerous it is to prophesy. He continues to this hour his constant policy since here: which is to take no part whatever in politics, attend to his practice, and care for his fortune. The former is extensive and the latter large, so he has plenty to do.

But in a former article I have told something of his life. His name is again introduced for the purpose of saying that President Dole and all his executive council were anti-annexationists; perhaps would be so still had it not been for Dr. McGrew's persuasive powers. When the committee originally invited Mr. Dole to take the position he now occupies, he said: "How can I, when I do not believe in annexation?" The result now shows how much can be done by one man of education, firmness in opinion, and independence of character, in impressing his ideas on a nation. If he but keep his temper in discussion, the influence of one such man is immense. Dr. McGrew would take no oaths of allegiance, and hold no office, yet he is justly styled by those who know "the father of annexation."

For the good of the American people it is to be trusted that his child will die before it is four years old. That people of whatever political creed owe President Cleveland an enormous debt of gratitude, a statue next in height to that of Lincoln, that he had the wisdom and courage to instantly recall that annexation treaty, and that whatever else he may have done, he is, and has been, firm on no annexation for Hawaii. Let all who love our country rally, forgetting other differences, and support him in that position with unbroken front to the end of his administration.

The one subject which is of equal interest to the planter or the cigar-vender of American affiliations here is this: had it not been for this, the revolt would never have occurred. These people had talked it over to each other so incessantly that the wish had not only become father to the hope, it had clad the delusion in the garment of reality, and bitter was the disappointment when, while the political storm pelted them mercilessly as the surf might beat a distressed vessel on these coral reefs, they saw the light beam from the cheerful door of the maternal

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mansion, signalled to it, and were answered that the prayer of the daughter must receive the same answer as the demand of the pirate. I pity them, but it was justice and righteousness to give them this answer, and again, I say, let us never yield them one iota.

The American people are deceived; they have been. They are blinded and falsely advised by every mail which leaves these shores. Is it to be expected that revolutionists who will seize the reins of government, turn gatling guns against a constituted monarchy, confiscate all copies of the *New York Herald* addressed to private citizens in the post-office, or deliver these latter with the page torn off containing special correspondence unfavorable to them, will stop at such a trifle as the inspection of all press despatches?

It must be remembered that San Francisco journals are in harmony with the annexationists. A man was sent from that city to prepare the general press despatches to be printed there and repeated East. What were his instructions? "In every line you send must be annexation." He remained here three months and carried out his instructions, then left, delegating his powers to whom? To the person who, for twelve months, edited the leading annexationist newspaper, and the journal of the widest influence to-day with the provisionalists. He holds that position to this moment. Who is the only other person by whom the general news of this community are furnished to the whole confraternity of newspapers of the United States? A clergyman without official charge, born on the islands, pledged heart, soul, and strength to the missionary party; a man who has said in public such unclean, unkind, uncharitable things of the Queen (and equally so of the poorest Hawaiian) that I would not sully the paper of the *Transcript* by repeating them in its columns. The above is not guess-work. That is the exact truth in regard to the source of supply, save an occasional special from a correspondent who comes here on one steamer and returns on the next, in his brief stay perhaps going to those very persons for the news. A journal of large circulation in a leading city sent a correspondent out here comparatively free, but his despatches commended the President. It became necessary, in the opinion of the managers of that newspaper, to attack Mr. Cleveland. The correspondent was notified of the color which must be given to all matter sent by him in future. He replied that he could not sell his conscience. His commission was revoked. A man who knew nothing whatever of his subject, but an able reporter, was substituted, and carried out the wishes of his principal. The first had lived here six months.

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An illustration of this is to be found in the columns of the *Transcript* of February 10th. In my despatch of the 23d of January, I asserted that discontent pervaded the rank and file of the very party in power; that the leaders would be forced to announce a policy within sixty days. Underneath was the press despatch containing these exact words: —

"A feeling of confidence and satisfaction prevails; an interview . . . made it clear that no movement toward constitutional organization . . . is at all likely to be taken up for the present," etc.

What has been the result? Very recently a committee was appointed to make the first draft of a call for constitutional convention. On the 16th, President Dole outlined in an interview the nature of the permanent organization which, in January, — lest it might injure the prospect of annexation, — he had, through the medium of the general despatches from Hawaii, denied.

The first move towards permanent government has been made by the appointment of a committee for the organization of a plan for constitutional convention. It is not likely, however, that this convention will have anything more than advisory powers, control being still kept by the nineteen men who at this day govern Hawaii.

The greatest mistake the government has made of late is the estrangement of the Chinese merchants, a wealthy and intelligent body of men. This was a movement to require a special license of each of those of that nationality doing business in the islands. It excited their deepest indignation. A mass meeting was held where armed resistance was suggested, and posters are now displayed on the streets warning all Chinese to do no further business with the business house of the member of the council who was in a degree responsible for the measure. The move was inaugurated to please the American League and the Portuguese. The government needs the votes of the former, and the latter have been furnished with arms as a body of minute-men should their services be required.

Two large shipments of ammunition, say, twenty-five thousand rounds of cartridges, arrived by the last steamer. These were consigned to Castle & Cooke and to the Hall Company, both houses having dealings with the government for whom these warlike materials were imported.

Uneasy lies the head in the provisionalist's night-cap. Having failed to connect Mr. Theo. H. Davies with the importation of royalist army-material on his line of Vancouver steamers, the government feels sure that soldiers to take the part of the Queen are being imported by somebody. In the official organs, attention is called to the number of single men of martial step and bearing, with money in their pockets, who have

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been seen on the streets since the arrival of the last Vancouver's Island steamer, and it is even rumored that there was a special consultation of the council on this subject yesterday. It is certain that little general business occupied this body at its weekly meeting, from which the spectators were all excluded in three-fourths of an hour after it was called to order, the remainder of its session being held behind closed doors.

There are already two political parties in the field; one calling itself the Union Party is virtually the annexation clubs under another name, and to affiliate therewith a member must forswear monarchy, declare his allegiance to the present government, and belief in annexation. The other styles itself the American Party, and is the child of a secret society opposed to missionary rule, Chinese immigration, and the capitalists. Its positive sins are not as well known at this writing as its negative. Besides these, the little community is split into numberless cliques and cabals, each having an infallible specific for the restoration of permanent government. The royalists are not even accused by their enemies of organization.

At the last meeting of the councils, before the sailing of the steamer of the 3d, two most stringent statutes were enacted, both directed against those not in sympathy with the Provisional Government. The first of these restricts immigration. Besides excluding the classes usually considered undesirable, the examination of any alien touching his right to land is authorized, such examination to be made under oath, and the decision of the officer is to be final. If the passenger is not wanted, he must be returned on the vessel by which he came. But a more extraordinary statute still is that giving the government the power to send any person into banishment in relation to whom there is probable cause for believing that he entertains intentions that are hostile to the established system of government, the burden of proof being by the law put upon the accused, who shall not be admitted to bail; and if such presumption is not disproved, he shall be sentenced to expulsion from the Hawaiian islands. By these statutes an unfriendly press correspondent may be prevented from landing, or any person here may be exiled, simply because his presence is not desired by the provisionalist authorities.

A prominent Chinese told me to-day that he felt no security in his business here now. It is certain that just in proportion as the government has swerved towards Republicanism, the lot of the Chinaman has become more burdensome. "Queen very good, very good to Chinaman," he sorrowfully repeated, shaking his head with the utmost gravity.

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# NO ANNEXATION OF HAWAII.

After having resided here nearly two months, listening patiently to each person who had an opinion and showed a willingness to express it, I am unable to assign, even on the authority of another, a single good reason why the government of the United States should vary in the least from that conservatism which — excepting only Alaska — has governed its policy as to colonies during the first hundred years of its existence. These are not an addition to national strength; they are, on the contrary, the sappers and miners of the national fortress.

The first reason is invariably proximity to our shores. But do the people realize that Honolulu and San Francisco, by the regular schedule time of the mail steamers, are exactly the distance apart that exists between New York and Queenstown? And, granting that the same steamer was to make the two passages, that the limit of her speed was 350 miles per day, there is then but two days' sail in favor of these islands as compared with Ireland. Suppose some of the Fenian movements had been as successful as the revolt of 1893 in Hawaii, would the American people have even allowed the introduction of a resolution into Congress favoring the absorption of Ireland into our Union?

"But these are American people, holding sixty millions of American property," interrupts my antagonist.

Let us dissect that statement. Nationally, this people is not nearly as closely allied to us as are the inhabitants of the Emerald Isle. There is scarcely a hamlet in the latter island from which a representative has not been sent, not to one city, but to every part of our Union. The Irish fought our battles in the rank and file, or as Sheridan, Sherman, Collins, Kearney, commanded our armies. Have we not more reason to ally ourselves with them than with Hawaii? They are of one blood; we have found them easily educated to our institutions. Of the two islands, my judgment would be largely in favor of annexing Ireland.

Now, as to those who call themselves Americans. They are numerically, by the last census, 2.14 per cent. of the population, or about five

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per cent. of the registered voters; this is their total strength, allowing each American to be a provisionalist and an annexationist: 637 voters; population, 1,928; total registry, 14,000; total population, 90,000 last official census. Is there longer wonder why political questions are not submitted to popular vote?

It is, perhaps, necessary for me to define the term "American capital:" by it I mean funds belonging to those resident in the United States, voters in the American Union, who might send money to be invested in Hawaii, just as our Eastern capitalists send funds out West for investment in railroads or mortgages. There are merchants in Boston and in San Francisco who have for years been interested in the Hawaiian trade. Their resident partners in Honolulu hold land under lease, or even in fee; they have stock in the sugar plantations: but all this wealth has been acquired under Hawaiian statutes, by means of the reciprocity treaty, by the action of the Hawaiian monarchy in encouraging contract labor; it is not money remitted from America, and has no claim to the name of American capital. This can be best understood by the further statement that, at the time of the initiation of the reciprocity treaty, the very men who now call this American capital were on the verge of bankruptcy.

To those who do not know the facts, these people delight to say: Sixty millions of American capital invested in the Hawaiian islands, ten millions American trade annually. Look at these statements under the light of truth. Save the proportion of the above represented by the Spreckels firm, and they are loyal to the monarchy, hardly one dollar of American capital is to be found here, the great fortunes now held by the planters being accumulated by successful business under the Hawaiian flag. Trade will always go where it can be made the most profitable, so if we bid for it we shall still have our proportion of that ten millions. We ought to bid for it. How? By opening our ports to all vessels flying the American or Hawaiian colors, and admitting all importations under those two flags absolutely free of duty. We should, in return, receive the same preference from the new nation, whatever its form of government. This would accomplish many of the advantages of annexation without its disadvantages.

But they are not Americans in anything but sentiment; they have no right whatever to the name. Mr. Blount served one of them just right when the Hawaiian-born white citizen called on him, and, after other inappropriate and disrespectful language, said: "But you have hauled down our flag."

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"I never have touched your flag. There it is," pointing to the ensign of Hawaii. "That is the flag under which you were born. You are an old man now. That is the flag under which you have always lived, and there is the door."

That is the best thing I have ever heard of Mr. Blount, and is just the way Mr. Thurston should be treated at Washington when he talks about "our flag."

What proportion of our pension list do these men pay? Where are their tax bills? Where their contributions to the cost of the white fleet, the whole of which it will take to half defend their sea coast? They will bring us a debt of about four millions of dollars, but when have they contributed a mill on the other side of the public ledger?

In one respect, and but one, they can claim to be Americans. Personally, and in private life, the most hospitable, kindly, moral, and Christian persons, charming to meet in the drawing-room or on the veranda; as an association in public life, they could give points to Vanderbilt, Astor, Fisk, and Gould in their dictation to the public and to government, and then throw the monopolies and the financial arrogance of the great millionnaires into insignificance. Why? Because from very boyhood they have been taught by tradition and by experience not to be ruled by any government, but to dominate the monarchy. They have always placed their foot on the neck of the king. They have treated these monarchs as but the servants of their united wills, the hewers of the wood and the drawers of the water by which their sugar-mills should be run, and they wish to appear in Washington to demand greater privileges of the American people. Woe, woe to the political party in years to come, on which the responsibility can be justly laid of introducing them into our politics. We can live easily with them on terms of reciprocity and free trade, but by all that is dear to us in domestic peace, by all which some of us remember of national dissension and bloody strife, let us never cherish the notion that union with them will be any more pacific than that with the South before the war; for they are, and will be, far more exacting than the Southerners at the acme of their power. When they saw that they could no longer rule the Queen they had sworn to support, they hurled her from her throne, and shipped this and the rest of her royal belongings out of the country. This is a fair sample of what they are capable of when opposed. Our position now is that of parties who live in amity until some zealous but short-sighted person induces them to marry; thus friendship is destroyed, and nothing takes its place save the bitterness of continual

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contention. There is yet time for all good men to unite against such ill-assorted union. Mr. Dole, Mr. Damon, many others of the provisionalists, have not the least claim to the name of American. They were born under a foreign flag, held office, acquiring all their private property under, and swore allegiance to, a foreign government, and should be treated exactly as Mr. Blount treated the man who came to his office and demanded to be informed in advance what would be the commissioners' report to President Cleveland. The American people must consider the source from which general despatches emanate, and disabuse their mind entirely of the idea that the Hawaiians of American ancestry are of their name and nation.

"But only think of the advantage of the islands as a coaling station," is frequently said.

Well, let us think of it. Of what possible advantage is it to us to establish coal-pockets in the midst of the Pacific Ocean, over two thousand miles from our coast, and then despatch steamboats from the latter place to reload the carbon and burn it? Under the reciprocity treaty of 1874 we have had an exclusive privilege at Pearl Harbor, some twenty miles from Honolulu, for nineteen years. Had we obtained this "in consideration of one dollar," that sum might as well have been sunk into the deep sea, for no vessel flying the stars and stripes has ever been near this invaluable concession.

But suppose there had been war with England?

That contingency is so remote as scarcely to merit a line. During experiences the aggravating character of which can never be exceeded, we have enjoyed uninterrupted peace with our mother-country for a period of eighty years. It is not likely that we shall unlearn the lesson, unless these very islands, having become a part of our country, succeed in introducing the absurd old feud of 1783 and 1812 into our national deliberations. They will try, if for any reason it seems best to the six hundred of American ancestry here, to drive out the five hundred of British blood. Behold another danger which it becomes us to avoid while yet there is time.

Why, the very men who now proclaim the misrule in public and the vice in private of the Kalakaua dynasty created that family ruling monarchs. When the king died who preceded Kalakaua, there was another candidate for the chair of royalty. This was Queen Emma, one of the noblest and best women who ever breathed. Her virtues, public and private, were never so much as questioned. On the other side was Kalakaua, a weak man, supported first by those who thought

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they saw in him a willing tool. What side did the missionary party take? Emma was of British blood; further, she had visited the country of her paternal ancestry, and, worse yet, she had invited the Anglican Church to Honolulu, and was herself one of its communicants. This was her sole offence, and the Calvinistic ministers and their congregations united with the other extreme of society, and placed on the throne of Hawaii David and Lydia, Kalakaua and Liliuokalani, against whose characters those very persons are now so virulent. Do we want any such spirit of religious bigotry and national jealousy to get a foothold in our national politics?

But, solely for argument's sake, let us suppose that it should, and that Congress, listening to the sugar barons, declares war with Great Britain. Now, if never before, shall we sadly find our new colonies a source of weakness; now, if never before, comes the reproach to that party which has yielded to their desire for union. Being the owners of the group, we must defend our domains and the inhabitants from the British fleet. The captain of the British war vessel "Champion" agrees perfectly with me that this would be a most difficult if not impossible thing for us to do. Surrounded by water deep enough to allow a vessel of the most formidable type to steam close to the shore, village after village, plantation after plantation, could be destroyed by the enemy, while the frequent channels between the fourteen islands would make a swift cruiser as difficult to catch as a monkey who goes aloft in a square-rigged vessel. Let us put our Pacific coast in a state of defence, building, if we must, monitors and turret-ships for the protection of its harbors; but if there is the least chance of war, by all means avoid adding to our responsibilities spots some two thousand miles away, on which there is not one fortification, not a single heavy gun, no vessel capable of firing a common shell from its mortar. Perhaps the American people wish to be taxed for the necessary change of these conditions, for the establishment of forts, lighthouses, coast and harbor defences for Hawaii, but no man in his senses would ever seriously consider such an absurdity.

Arguing, therefore, on the presumption of war, there is no reason whatever for annexing Hawaii, and every reason for denying the islands admission to our Union. In time of peace there is one line of steamships, one-half under British and one-half under American colors, which ply between San Francisco and the South Seas. This is equally true of the steamer lines for China and Japan. They keep their coal supplies at Honolulu, and save that were this an American port, they would pay

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a duty on this coal, the annexation of these islands would make no difference whatever to these ships. This disposes forever of that much-used, little-understood, term "coaling station." It would be far better in time of war to have the fleet on our Pacific coast, which would be drawn off to defend these islands were they American territory. In time of peace our vessels will have the same advantage here which has ever been at their command when they were manyfold more numerous than they are to-day.

Those who quote the statesmen of years gone by forget to take into consideration that there were then here at times as many as two hundred sail of whaleships on board of which, from master to boy, American families were represented; steam communication across the Pacific was not opened, and the harbor of San Francisco was filled with noble clippers under the stars and stripes. Even then the place was just as economical, just as safe a port of call as if it had been on American soil. But now, whaler and clipper, master and man, are equally amongst the things which were and are no more; they perished years ago, and none arise to fill their places. What need have we of a commercial centre in the midst of the Pacific? Of what use to us is the key of the Orient? It opens to us nought but an empty coffer; we shall receive no return for the very gold we melt in the crucible at which we gild a useless symbol of a commerce which our own foolishness has annihilated.

"But suppose another power should become the owner of these islands?"

There are but two with whom it is at all possible for Hawaii to make union. France has about one hundred and fifty voters in the kingdom; she takes little interest in anything not within her own borders, and any proposal to her would doubtless be met with a negative.

Japan would entertain the proposition; she has a surplus population; she aspires to position with the great powers whom she loves to imitate; this would be to her a step toward the rising sun, a colony within easy and safe distance from her capital city, say, 3,500 miles from the seat of central government. Nor would this be at all objectionable to other nations; it insures the neutrality of Hawaii in case of that excessively remote contingency becoming reality, or the outbreak of another war.

Lastly comes Great Britain; she is thought to cast her covetous glances towards each spot of desirable territory, to be willing to raise thereon her flag at the least invitation, or indeed at the cost of overcoming the most determined opposition. She cannot be uninformed of the title under which the few self-nominated, self-elected men in power

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claim to have the right to convey away a kingdom; she cannot ignore her compact with France in 1843, but allowing she would accept a cession made by a petty minority, and leaving her to adjust as best she could her compact with France, what possible objection can there be to her acquisition of another colony? I can see none at all. For years our interests, life, and property have been safe at the mouth of the Canton River, because she holds Hong Kong. They would be equally respected here.

For us the race problem is a serious question. Perhaps in the midst of our tariff debates we desire to see the floor gained by the member from Molokai, who maintains in a three-hours' speech that the settlement of lepers, 1,200 in number, have not received their share of the funds in the appropriation bill. In the negroes at the South, the Indian in the West, the Chinese on the Pacific, have we not enough race problems to tax our philanthropy? Do we covet another set of national wards? Must we add to these another of the dark-skinned races, to say nothing of the Asiatics, the Portuguese, and the difficult questions of contract labor and the employment problem?

In these matters it is different with Britain: she is mistress of the art of governing people of diverse races collected into a single community. She has tried it in India, in China, in Egypt, in the islands of the Indies, East and West. Why not allow her to try it in Hawaii? We have no occasion, save for an occasional scientific mission, to send any naval vessel to foreign parts; she but rests here on her voyages to Australian, Chinese, or Indian possessions. A naval station equidistant from these is an advantage to her: it completes the girdle already put by her enterprise nearly around the globe.

To Hawaii, the cession to Great Britain would mean good government, firmly, honestly, and permanently administered. There would be a solidity and stability to business investments here which can be attained in no other way. British capital is cheap; it would probably seek investment here to a greater extent than ever; and, while there would be no general emigration, a second son of a young lord disappointed in love would now and then stray into these islands and add his name and patrimony to the Commonwealth. Were I settled in Hawaii, I should be glad to see the day when, under universal consent of the greater powers, the British flag should float over all these islands.

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# TELEGRAPHIC ADVICES.

## VERY LIMITED SUFFRAGE.

HONOLULU, March 3, 1894.

WHATEVER is said in general despatches, these being all prepared by government supervision, no harmony whatever exists in Hawaii. When the original revolt occurred, the white residents were united in a desire for a better government. They are now split into two openly organized political parties, and subdivided into numerous factions. Bloodshed was prevented at first through the fixed determination of the Queen that no appeal should be made to arms, she fully believing that her case was referred to President Cleveland.

Neither party has yet given up, although the annexationists concede that there is little hope for them under Cleveland's administration. It is quite pathetic to notice the confidence which the poorer class of natives, especially on other islands, still cherish that President Cleveland will restore the Queen. These are intensely bitter against the missionary party, as, without reason, they call all provisionalists.

A committee is now at work drafting plans for a constitutional convention, confirming my despatch to you of January 23d. No details have been made public yet, but the movement will practically disfranchise the whole population, ninety thousand, save the three thousand in sympathy with the government. The following will be excluded from the convention and from franchise: All below certain property qualifications, all Chinese and Japanese, all who do not read and write English, and all who decline taking an oath of unqualified allegiance to the Provisional Government. Even thus, no person is eligible to a seat in the convention, unless nominated by annexation clubs. To further guarantee the present government absolute power, the convention will be only advisory: that is, to recommend measures to the President and his council. Every article will be accepted or killed on a vote of these nineteen men, because there will be but eighteen delegates-at-large. These details have never before been published, but my authority is unquestionable.

The landed proprietors on the outside islands are disaffected because no appropriations of public moneys are made to them; but the treasury

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cannot do anything for them since the expenses of government are enormous. The provisionalists have spent in one year $31,000 more than the Queen spent in two years. They publicly announce that she was paid $80,000 a year. This is false. She received in cash $10,000 a year from the treasury. The remainder was her income from crown lands provided by the Kamehamehas expressly for the support of the royalty. They have seized these now. Taxes, by reason of that foresight of monarchs, nearly half a century ago, have been lower here than in any part of the world. They increased this year by one-third, and will augment annually. The government debt is three and one-half millions, and daily increasing, mainly due to British capitalists. This fact, should anarchy ensue in Hawaii, may cause England to take part in the quarrel, otherwise she would doubtless prefer to keep out. All Americans, of whatever party, should unite against annexation. Only as a conquered race will the Hawaiians ever submit to the loss of nationality.

In peace, these islands offer no advantage which cannot be gained by reciprocity; in politics, the eighty millions capital of arrogant sugar-planters will make us more disturbance than we had from the South. At the other extreme of social life we shall have a race problem as troublesome as that of the Indian. Thirty thousand Asiatics will also make trouble. Appropriate fortifications, leper settlements, and a naval fleet are additional problems requiring heavy outlay for solution. In war, this colony would be a source of weakness, — bold shores, deep channels, large coast, and small interior would give gunboats a chance to burn villages, plantations, and escape with impunity. It would take our entire white fleet to half defend these islands. This is my judgment, confirmed by naval authorities not Americans. These latter are prohibited from expression of opinions on politics.

The provisionalists are much disturbed about the arrival here, by every Vancouver steamer, of able-bodied men. They accuse the royalists of importing an army, and openly advocate restricted immigration and deportation of all who do not satisfactorily explain their business. Two large shipments of ammunition and arms, consigned to houses of missionary ancestry, arrived here by the last California steamer. The army supporting the provisionalists is composed entirely of aliens, hirelings, and soldiers of fortune. They serve simply for what they are paid, and must not be confounded with those who, at a crisis, might volunteer from patriotism. There are none of the latter in service now.

But the government proposes to exclude from the islands all who will not support it. A law is published which allows examination, under oath, of any alien coming here, and his immediate banishment without power of appeal, if his explanation of business is unsatisfactory. Another statute introduced goes far beyond this. It suspends or violates

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the Hawaiian constitution, and allows arrest of any person whose intentions are hostile to the provisionalists. Unless he disprove such presumption, he must go into exile. It expressly says that there shall be no appeal, that he may not be bailed, that probable cause is sufficient ground for arrest, and that the burden of proof shall be on the accused to establish his innocence.

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## HAWAII TO BE A REPUBLIC.

HONOLULU, March 8, 1894.

The "Mariposa" sails before the conclusion of meeting of councils, but the bill for the organization of the constitutional convention will pass its first stages. It is less rigorous than at first designed. Eighteen delegates will be chosen to sit with the present council, making one house of thirty-six members. Excepting Asiatics, all who will take oath to the Provisional Government can vote. Cumulative voting will be tried, which means that, there being six delegates from Oahu, any voter may give six votes for one, or one vote for each of the six. The convention will assemble at the call of President Dole. No time is fixed. He will have no power of veto on its motions, but will be the presiding officer.

The new constitution organizes a permanent government on republican lines. At a second reading any act can pass, but, say the royalists, Hawaii will not have, in any case, a representative government, because no considerable number of the Hawaiians will forswear allegiance to their Queen. They allege that the only equitable course would have been to act under the present constitution, giving each man a vote who could vote prior to the revolt, then let the question of a republic or a monarchy be decided by the fourteen thousand voters now registered. The provisionalists, however, would not dare do this, for their party would be voted out of power by an overwhelming majority. If note be taken of the small number of ballots cast, the great powers will see that the new government in no way represents the Hawaiian people. At most it cannot be more than three per cent. of the population, and it deserves and will receive no recognition from foreign ministers.

Thus far the royalists have been prevented from using force because they have never lost faith in President Cleveland's purpose to restore the Queen. The provisionalists have also avoided a clash, because they feel equally sure of annexation, and desire to keep the peace until the strong arm of the United States can sustain them. From widely different motives both parties are careful not to quarrel. What the result will be

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when these restraining influences shall fail, no one can predict. Rumors are plenty, but no statement of future plans worthy credence can be made. The government found itself forced to conciliate the Chinese at the expense of the friendship of the American league. The latter, a secret society, is composed of sixty per cent. new arrivals. Its principles are those of the California sand-lot orators. Just in proportion as the domain has drifted from royalty, just so have the Chinese been threatened in their property or person. A proposition to oblige the Chinese merchant class to register and pay a special tax drew forth the fact that these would furnish a military contingent to defend their rights by means of reseating the Queen, and this rumor probably brought the provisionalists to reason.

No person is now allowed to land from foreign parts until he can show that he has fifty dollars and satisfactorily explain his object in coming here. Further, any objectionable person can be arrested and deported, the law presuming guilt until he can prove innocence of sentiments inimical to the government. This act has one clause which is an anomaly in legislation. It provides that if its provisions be in any way at variance with the existing constitution, the statute shall be valid notwithstanding this conflict. At the hour of the steamer's sailing a vote had not been reached, but I am assured by those in the council that the act will certainly become a law. Thus in the first year of its existence the government has been obliged to violate the constitution, or do, itself, that for which it was claimed the Queen should be deposed. Martial law may be declared at any moment, for the provisionalists are very uneasy. The "Mariposa" was the first ship subjected to the former provision. Business is suffering severely, and the shopkeepers complain bitterly.

My recent interviews with her Majesty and with President Dole disclose nothing of great importance, more than what has been already sent you. The Queen remembers her Boston friends very kindly, and sends her greetings to them all, naming especially Mrs. Hemenway, Mr. Gilman, and Mrs. Lee. Mr. Dole shows evidence of the terrible responsibility he carries. He and Damon, more than any other two, give character to the party in possession. It does not seem to me that the latter could hold sway without them. The rumor that Minister Thurston is on his way back and that Minister Willis will go, discloses the fact that by his moderation, courtesy, and urbanity, Minister Willis has fairly won golden opinions, thereby displacing the coolness with which he was received. Even the provisionalists, who at first regarded him as the impersonation of Cleveland, would be very sorry to see another substituted for the present minister.

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# THE QUEEN OF HAWAII.

I HAVE had my final interview with her Majesty, have left on the hand of royalty my kiss of adieu. Arriving here open to conviction, not the least evidence has been presented to me that Liliuokalani was unworthy the respect due to a good woman by a man of gallantry. On the contrary, I have by personal investigation proved some of the ridiculous rumors circulated against her to be absolutely false, put into form for political effect. She is guilty of no heathen practices; her charity for fatherless children was never misconstrued until it was necessary to find something of ill report to say about her; and whatever her political mistakes, they never were occasioned by personal greed, but always from her desire to benefit her people. The lottery bill, suggests some one. Yes, it has been shown by me that this measure was carried through both Houses, indorsed by the ministry; in fact, made a law contrary to her wishes. The very people who now blame her had deprived her of the power of absolute veto under the constitution of 1887. But they do not say that in their accounts of events. They do not say that, actuated by the desire to use the license money in the employment of the idle on public works, the Queen acceded to their petitions.

But why not let her speak for herself on a few points? As usual, she accorded me a most gracious reception, perhaps treating me with more consideration because the only other person present was a lady who had been her friend and associate from childhood; for this reason she relaxed entirely her official dignity, using the first person singular when speaking of herself, and expressed her views with perfect freedom. But in one respect she observed that delicacy which is natural to the Hawaiian people; not a single name of any person in rebellion against her passed her lips. She now and then spoke of their principles, never of them as individuals. I was not so cautious, and mentioned the name of a lady of missionary ancestry, who had herself told me that she never had allowed any one to speak a word against the character of the

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Queen. "This lady," said Liliuokalani, "belongs to a family I have always known and esteemed. She lived next to the house of my own husband. We had been playmates together; we never ceased to know and love each other when we grew up; we lived as is the custom among Hawaiians: she ran into my apartments, or I went into her house, just as we felt inclined, always unannounced, always made welcome by each other. I have been very sorry to learn that her business affairs are not prosperous, and it is still more unfortunate that she should be forced to try and straighten them out at such a time as this. It is not a favorable time for making settlements."

"No," I suggested. "I have already called attention in my printed writings to the great prosperity enjoyed by these very men in revolt during the reigns of your Majesty and your late royal brother. I have further told them that, in any event, they could never expect to enjoy for the next twenty years that substantial prosperity which has been theirs in the past."

The Queen's large eyes opened, and I realized that she was about to dissent from this sentiment.

"I am sure I do not see why not," she replied. "I think, on the contrary, that they might expect just such a return, were they only to take the proper means to secure it." She alluded to restoration.

I explained to her that I had for the moment put restoration and annexation out of the question. She said little about the former, but enough to convince me that her faith in President Cleveland has never in the least degree wavered, and a further remark from her side led me to infer that she would like to hear my views on the ideas current in the United States respecting annexation. I gave them to her, substantially the same as they have been already stated by me in the *Transcript*, and to the effect that no advantage whatever would accrue to my own nation by a union with hers. She paid the strictest attention to my remarks, even accepting with good nature my asseveration that, were she and the people of her own blood to desire annexation, they would still receive the same refusal which had been given to other colonies during the past hundred years.

Then, changing the subject, she spoke of my native city, expressing the warm interest she had always felt in Boston, and for the first time she voluntarily made use of a name.

"Do you know Mrs. Lee?" she asked. "Her husband was a classmate of my husband, and is a publisher. Lee & Shepard is the name of the firm." I replied that I had met Mr. and Mrs. Lee at the time of

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their marriage, and offered to be the bearer of any souvenirs which her Majesty might wish to send to that lady.

"Thank you," replied Liliuokalani; "I hope she already has them. I sent her a large bundle of photographic views, and on the back of each card I wrote myself something about the picture; they made quite a package for the mails, and of course I cannot say whether those in charge of the post-office allowed them to pass without inspection; in fact, the doubt on this point has rather prevented me from writing Mrs. Lee. She had heard among other things that I had become a Mormon!"

And not in the least permitting her temper to rise, the Queen laughed pleasantly at the idea, and went on to explain how the rumor originated.

"I was in the habit," she said, "of visiting all the churches. I went to the Episcopalian Church, to the Roman Catholic, to the Mormon, but only as a visitor. My own church is the old stone church of the missionaries; there is where I was educated, there I have always worshipped, and my faith is just the same as it ever was."

I thought it rather worthy of note that the Queen should avow her constancy to the missionaries and their form of Christian worship, when some of her adherents assign her troubles to these very men, and say that they will have no more to do with their churches. She showed, however, in speaking of the missionary families, not the smallest degree of resentment; indeed, her whole bearing, and the tone of her remarks, as well as the substance, bore remarkable evidence of her Christian character.

"I don't know whether Mrs. Lee will write to me again," she went on; "she has heard that I am such a horrid creature," and the Queen again gave a quiet laugh. "But you might call on her for me, and tell her that I remember her with pleasure. Then there's Mr. Gilman, too,—Hon. Gorham D. Gilman. Do you know him?"

I replied that I had the pleasure of an interview with the gentleman named just before leaving Boston.

"He always seemed like a brother to me," continued her Majesty. "I was living as an adopted member of the family of the celebrated chief, Paki, with his daughter, who afterwards became Mrs. C. R. Bishop. We were always the same as sisters together. Mr. Gilman, then but eighteen years old, was in and out as one of the same family. If you see him on your return, do not forget to assure him of my remembrance. Remember me also to Mrs. Hemenway." (She had not heard of the death of this estimable lady.) On questions of state or government the Queen spoke freely, and far more fully than I shall presume

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to report; but there was not the slightest malice or desire for vengeance either in her words or her manner. She found fault with no one, blamed no organization or association, and in all respects conducted the conversation as a high-minded, dignified, and courtly lady. I could not but think that if a committee of the very persons who have so ruthlessly slandered her had only been in an adjoining room listening to every word that proceeded from her lips, they would scarcely have been worthy the name of gentlemen had they not knelt at her feet to implore the forgiveness of the lady, even if they would not ask pardon of the sovereign.

The interview was exceedingly valuable to me as confirmatory, by the Queen's own lips, of many of the facts and opinions already noted in my letters; and it must be remembered that it was not the conventional press interview, but a family chat, where the only witness was a lady of Hawaiian blood; that there were no observers any more scrutinizing than the two provisionalist spies who paced to and fro on the opposite side of the street, putting down in a note-book the hour of my entrance, and again noting the time of my exit.

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# TELEGRAPHIC ADVICES.

## LILIUOKALANI'S SIDE.

HONOLULU, February 12, 1894.

I HAVE been favored by the Queen with a most gracious reception. Her Majesty is the same good woman she always was; this is my judgment, having met her three times in the course of some twenty years. The Opium Bill was an attempt to regulate a traffic which cannot be suppressed, on account of the large Chinese population. Smuggling, bribery, and festering corruption ruled the day. To stop this forever a statute was introduced based on that of Great Britain in her eastern colonies. The Lottery Bill was advised by many of the merchants and first citizens in signed petitions. These men have caused the lists to be abstracted from the public records and destroyed. Among the signers was Dr. McGrew, who boasts that he is the father of annexation. This bill passed both houses, and was taken to the Queen with the unanimous indorsement of the ministry. She was told by them that by the constitution she could not veto it without giving incontestable reasons.

The constitution of 1887 was always objectionable to the natives, because it gave foreign residents full share in the government while retaining alien allegiance. The Queen hated it because her brother Kalakaua signed it under duress. His life was threatened had he refused. A committee of five Americans had sworn to execute him for the public good.

An Eastern lawyer arrived by steamer of a month since, believing absurd stories about her Majesty. He was fully primed with these by a provisionalist and an annexationist lady. Investigation showed him that he might as well have taken as his subject the old joke about "Queen Victoria and her servant Brown." "There is absolutely nothing in it," he said to me. "The very persons who talk so have said within one year that Liliuokalani was the most philanthropic, upright Christian woman in the city. There is where they spoke the truth." She did wish the revolutionists to leave the kingdom, when questioned by Willis. She thought that, should she officially promise full amnesty, advantage would be taken by them. Her people would despise her. Therefore, without condemning any personally, she simply

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declared what judgment was due such persons; that they merited the penalty for treason which would be theirs under Queen Victoria or Emperor William. She fails to see any difference, because the outrage took place in her domains.

Annexation is still rampant; the party is not discouraged, but say that they will now make such terms with other powers as will force America to take them in as a measure of prevention. They were delighted with the resolution warning off other powers, and believe compulsion will doubtless bring annexation soon.

Mr. Carter's dismissal from Charles Brewer's company excites universal comment, not always favorable, because in ability and integrity none stand higher. The company presented him with one thousand dollars, so it is said. His sin was not of commission but omission. As Queen's counsellor, his influence was immense with the natives. He was told that if he would publicly advocate annexation with the Hawaiians, the company would retain him, otherwise he must go. It would have wonderfully aided the government side had he sold his conscience to them.

It is rumored that Minister Willis returns on the March steamer. His position here is embarrassing to him, for President Dole will never yield him an inch. He is considered responsible for the diplomatic slight on the day of the anniversary celebration. The government would dismiss the American representative but for fear of injuring the annexation cause. Personally he is highly esteemed, but is thought to be President Cleveland's tool. This latter is cordially hated by the seven hundred voters (out of the registered fourteen thousand) who overturned the government. Allowing every American voter in the islands to be with the provisionalists, that figure is their extreme strength, by official registry.

The younger portion of the community, fearing Puritan rule, say that if no annexation is possible, they prefer the old *regime*, for under missionary domination life here would not be worth living: sports, beer, and enjoyments would be banished, and Sunday laws, prohibition, and deadness introduced. This new opposition comes from the very men who shouldered muskets for the government one year ago.

The provisionalists have tried to discipline Hon. Theo. H. Davies, Kaiulani's guardian. The attorney-general summoned him, and government papers advocate his deportation. He is a British citizen, and has lived here over thirty years. He is very bold and outspoken in his sentiments, and a man of great integrity. He interviewed Cleveland when the Princess came from England. He is a good writer.

The bill to separate the office of minister of foreign affairs from that of president became a law on the 8th. The salary of the president was fixed at $12,000. F. W. Hatch became minister of foreign affairs,

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which leaves a vacancy in the advisory council, which that body will probably fill by the election of D. B. Smith, who has been named for the place by a mass meeting dominated by the American League.

Being relieved of the burden of foreign affairs, President Dole will apply himself especially to the work of maturing a draft of a constitution which has already received much careful consideration. Before final action it will be submitted to some form of a constitutional convention, unless advices from Washington shall hold out a more favorable prospect than has appeared of late for annexation or for some other satisfactory form of political union with the United States. The present appearances are that the revolutionists will maintain themselves in power at whatever sacrifice of ideal democratic practices.

On the evening of the 14th an immense mass meeting of Chinese was held for the purpose of protesting against the measure lately introduced into the council to prevent Chinese agricultural laborers from engaging in mechanical or mercantile occupations. Resolutions were passed claiming "no lesser degree of consideration and justice than residents of other nationalities enjoy."

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# PAST HAWAIIAN REVOLTS.

THE attentive observer cannot but notice that clash and bloodshed have been prevented in Hawaii by reason of two considerations. The Queen opposed all plans of resistance, because she understood that to do so would be to bring her defenders into conflict with the United States forces; she submitted because she thought that the commander-in-chief of those forces would judge between her claims and the acts of those by whom she had been dethroned. It is not pertinent to the question to respond that all this was delusion. Of the facts noted above, there is not the least doubt. A course of conduct can be based on facts which may subsequently fade into fiction. Such development does not change in any degree the result of that conduct. It is thus that bloodshed has been avoided ever since the dethronement. Call it another delusion, if you will, but from Liliuokalani to her most humble subject, faith in President Cleveland has never for a moment wavered. By every arrival from San Francisco they expect and have always expected the mandate which should direct the war vessels to enforce the decision of the great executive power of the American nation.

Very slowly indeed can the successors of a feudal system comprehend the limitations of government by the consent of the people. It is absolutely impossible for me, in conversing with them, to convince them that whether he wills or no, the President is limited to just the inactivity which has marked his line of action. They fail to see why the representative of a power in foreign waters may have for the moment more absolute power than the central executive arm of that force can have when it assumes the direction from its seat of government. The conduct of Admiral Thomas in restoring the Hawaiian flag after a provisional rule of five months, confirms the Queen and her supporters in the belief that an American naval officer will yet do likewise. It is an interesting historical item that every Hawaiian flag having been destroyed by the government of 1843, the one hoisted and saluted by the British admiral was by his order made from bunting aboard his own ship. Had President Cleveland conformed to the Hawaiian ideal of justice in righting a national wrong, his portrait would have adorned the royal

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palace, and a public square would have been dedicated to his memory: such was the manifestation of the nation's gratitude to the British admiral. The determination not in the least to embarrass their deliverer has restrained those of political belief loyal to their Queen from any demonstration which would be a hindrance to the execution of his supposed intentions. Such has been the case, nor is this restraining influence relaxed to this day.

Turn we now to the opposite party. These had an equally strong motive in avoiding bloodshed or the least approach to violence. There was one master-motive to their revolt, one object they thought to gain; this was annexation to the United States. As the Queen's adherents were determined to do nothing which should in the least hinder restoration, so her disloyal subjects were resolved that by no act of theirs should the American people say that they were unworthy adoption as children of the great republic. They have, therefore, arrested no seditionists, banished no royalist, nor confiscated any private property. They felt that the strong arm of their mother-country would soon be laid on the children of the quarrelsome family, suppressing with its power all their bickerings, and maintaining an order in the future more rigorous than that of the past. Believing, therefore, that the troubles of their present state were only transient, they bore patiently with them, trusting to hear by each steamer arriving that some vote of our national Congress would warrant the assurance that annexation would come in a no distant future. Nor have they been plunged into despair by this hope so long deferred. Their hearts are not sick, but full of courage that the American people will, at farthest in 1897, welcome the territory of Hawaii to the great union of their aspiration.

Thus let it be understood, annexation and restoration, both of which for argument's sake we will here style delusions, have by consent of the Ruler of Nations acted as curbs on the passions of men, the one or the other holding in perfect check the headstrong of either party. Whether or no this will be the result in the future cannot be predicted. Let us now turn to the history of similar movements in the past.

The superficial observer regards the mushroom on his lawn as the growth of one night; the student knows that it is the result of a long process, just as truly so as the bunch of grapes on the vine, only in the latter case the process is above ground and can be watched, while in the former it is subterranean. Thus it is with the events of history.

Annexation has always been the threat by which one political party or the other sought to intimidate its opponents. It did not originate with Minister Stevens, nor is that official at all responsible for the

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ancient custom of landing marines on Hawaiian soil with the purpose to control the passions of men in a political crisis. The two great parties of United States politics have issues enough on which they may fight their battles. It will be the part of wisdom to avoid adding thereto any reference whatever to the Hawaiian islands, any contest whatever over the ministerial record of Hon. John L. Stevens. United States troops have in the past taken far more share in the politics of Hawaii than they took in the crisis of January, 1893. The party now in power, erroneously but persistently styled the missionary party, has hitherto been the strongest advocate of the preservation of Hawaiian nationality. For the facts and evidence I now submit, I am indebted to Hon. A. F. Judd, now Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of these islands. I had the honor years ago of a slight acquaintance with him, and knew at that time far better his honored father, Dr. G. P. Judd, a man of singular personal humility and almost absolute political power. For years Dr. Judd held the kingdom in his right hand, as I shall most conclusively show, yet he was never charged with using that hand for his own profit, and died without ever having attained even moderate riches. His son, the Chief Justice, has left my office just as I finish this letter. These are his exact words, written no longer ago than October, 1880: —

"The Hawaiian kingdom still stands prosperous and respected, making and executing its own laws, its autonomy preserved. . . . It presents to-day the only instance of a nation lifted from the darkness of heathenism to the light of Christian civilization, without the destruction of the native government."

Yet, the elder Judd once left these shores with such powers as are rarely committed to the individual; it was in the midst of hot disputes over national questions with foreign powers. These are now dead issues, and lack of space must excuse me from reviving them. Suffice it to say that on September 11, 1849, Dr. Judd, having under guardianship two princes of the royal line, sailed for San Francisco. He was empowered to convey away the kingdom, as will be seen by the ensuing copy of the original document: —

*Kamehameha, by the grace of God, of the Hawaiian islands, king, to our trusty and well-beloved subject, Gerrit Parmile Judd.*

SECRET INSTRUCTIONS.

In case our independence be not fully recognized by the acts of any other government, or our sovereignty in peril, or rendered of no value, our Royal Domain being exposed to further hostile attacks without just and good reasons, or if from any other cause you may find these instructions necessary;

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These are to command and empower you on our behalf to treat and negotiate with any king, president, or government, or agent thereof, for the purpose of placing our islands under foreign protection and rule.

And you are hereby further commanded and empowered to treat and negotiate for the sale, and to sell our sovereignty of the Hawaiian islands, if for reasons above mentioned, or for other good cause, you may deem it wise and prudent so to do, reserving in all cases unto Us the ratification of any treaty or convention you may sign on our behalf. And you are hereby further empowered to sell all our private lands and those of our chiefs subject to our ratification and the free concurrence of our chiefs.

Done at the palace, Honolulu, Oahu, this 7th day of September, A.D. 1849.

R. G. WYLIE. KAMEHAMEHA.
KEONI ANA.

Had the missionary party desired union with us, it could have been easily effected at that date, for the United States as then constituted had far more interest in Hawaii and in commerce than we have to-day. When California was first settled a force of men was supposed to be on the eve of embarkation for Hawaii, and it was proposed here to organize an army of defence; but the United States ship "Vincennes" was kept in port by the American commissioner for the avowed purpose of sustaining the Hawaiian Government.

A year later the disaffected organized a committee of thirteen, revolutionized the government, turned out of office both Dr. Judd and Mr. Armstrong, the avowed purpose being annexation. July 4, 1854, was celebrated as Annexation Day. A triumphal car, with a young girl dressed in white representing each State, towing another on which was Hawaii represented by native lads, was drawn through the principal streets. Arriving at the great stone church, the American minister received the procession and made an eloquent speech, welcoming the new star to our national constellation. A statute passed both houses authorizing the alienation of the kingdom, and the question of 1893 might have been answered in 1853, had it not been for the sudden death of the King, which demoralized the movement. Justice Judd, in commenting upon this crisis in 1880, used these words: —

"For the last twenty-five years no one has seriously desired annexation. An independent native sovereignty has thus far given persons of all nationalities residing at the islands ample protection, and every lover of the Hawaiian race must rejoice in the preservation of its autonomy for these many years past. It would be difficult to find a country where the sentiment of nationality is stronger than among the aboriginal Hawaiians."

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From the foreign men-of-war in port has always been drafted the armed police by which the lives and property of the residents ashore have been protected whenever threatened by domestic revolution. If, therefore, the "Boston" had taken no part in the revolution of 1893, that movement would by so much have differed from all precedents in the prior history of the nation. As a fact, our marines took less part in the revolution than they had taken in the riots at the time of the accession of Kalakaua, or the epoch of the concession of the constitution of 1887. At both these dates they were landed from our ships; they compelled the natives to recognize the legality of the election of King Kalakaua; they supported his right to the throne against the partisans of Queen Emma; then, in 1887, they kept the peace betwixt the king and his belligerent subjects, forcing the monarch to grant the constitutional demands of the latter.

If we commission a minister to a nation, we must defer to his judgment as to that which is best for our interests there. I believe Minister Stevens to have acted according to precedent, to have been notably conscientious; and although I dissent entirely from his conclusion that annexation is equally for the good of Hawaii and for America, yet I would not deny that in favoring the opposite side he has the testimony of history, of ministers resident, and of American statesmen and naval officers to support his opinions, which he promptly and honestly forwarded to the power which intrusted its interests to him.

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# THE HAWAIIAN COMMUNITY.

THAT all government exists by the consent of the people is evident from the position of the provisionalists in Hawaii for over a year just passed away. Here are less than twenty men, with no constitutional warrant for their organization or existence, and yet at no time during that epoch has their authority been challenged. Perhaps that declaration should be qualified by adding thereto, "save for effusions printed in the daily press."

For, of the four daily papers printed in Honolulu, two are with the royalist party and two are loyal to the present government. The newspaper of the oldest establishment and widest circulation, the *Commercial Advertiser*, is the most valuable ally of the party in power. It is ably edited, thoroughly American, and, although in the heat of party strife it is not easy for any one of us who is human to always keep an even temper, yet it is generally dignified, and entitled to the respect of men of all shades of opinion.

The most persistent opponent of its position is Hon. T. H. Davies, an Englishman by birth and affiliations, a man of wealth, education, and of the highest type of Christian character. To this he adds the official position of being the guardian of the Princess Kaiulani, or Miss Cleghorn, niece of Liliuokalani. It was as a member of his family that this Hawaiian girl visited Boston last year on her way to Washington, where she was most hospitably received by President and Mrs. Cleveland. Mr. Davies has a son in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and is a gentleman of the greatest integrity, whose opinions, based on a broad experience of the world and the eternal principles of right, are worthy of respectful consideration.

On January 17, 1893, the present government proclaimed itself in absolute power; thirteen days after, a statute was made the law of the land, the very language of which indicates that at that early and enthusiastic date, it was found best to put a bridle on the tongue of its

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opponents. From that statute, a copy of which is before me, I make the following extract: —

SECTION 1. Every one commits a misdemeanor who publishes, verbally, any words or any document with a seditious intent. . . .

SECT. 3. A seditious intention is an intention to bring into hatred or contempt, or to excite disaffection against the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian islands, or the laws thereof, or to excite the people to attempt the alteration by force of any matter established by the laws of the Provisional Government, or to raise *discontent* and *disaffection* against the Provisional Government, or to promote feelings of ill-will and hostility between different classes of people in the Hawaiian islands.

By both its organs the Provisional Government is urged to proceed under this statute against Mr. Davies; but the two newspapers are not in accord as to what should be the penalty, one of them advocating that provided by the law, — hard labor, fine, and imprisonment, — the other, believing in making his an exceptional case and sending him into perpetual exile. In the mean time, Mr. Davies continues to use the columns of the opposition press. His letters are worth reading, being always dignified in tone, consistent in argument, and free from flippancy or personality, which cannot be said for those by whom he is attacked. If the government hesitates much longer, the question will be answered, for it is Mr. Davies' intention to join his family in England at no distant date, and it is not probable that he will ever again be a resident of Hawaii.

In spite of its tropical outbursts of revolution, there is probably no place on the earth where life is so secure from menace, public or private, or where private property is so safe from intrusion, as it is anywhere on these beautiful islands. Houses are never locked, by day or by night, occupied or unoccupied by members of the family. Door-bells and bolts are to be found at only a few residences, and are then seldom in use. My cottage has but one tenant, — myself; it has three rooms all on the ground floor; its doors are wire screens, in order to admit air and exclude mosquitoes. I retire at night, leaving watch, money, and diamonds an easy prey to a burglar. I go down to the beach to spend the night and have a morning swim in the ocean, or take my daily walks without in any way closing it against intrusion. If a friend calls in my absence, he enters, reads the newspapers as though he were in his own parlor, and awaits my return: such is the custom of the community, and it is the part of a cosmopolitan to accustom himself to the usages of the land of his sojourn.

Turning now to the loss of human life as a penalty for disturbance of the public peace, either by collision between parties or as a punishment

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for sedition, there is no nation whose skirts are so free from stain as those of the island paradise of the Pacific. To her great reluctance to permit the least bloodshed her Majesty, Queen Liliuokalani, owes her deposition. There were those about her who offered their last drop of blood to defend her constitutional rights. There were gatling guns in the hands of those who knew how to use them. She had a devoted and, with his nation, popular commander, who also had a sufficient strength in his miniature army to have made a stand, at which the Hawaiian people, who, without regard to the person occupying the throne, have a most intense love for the chieftain who represents to them the never-swerving loyalty of centuries, would have enthusiastically rallied around her. But she also had counsellors whose advice was for peace, and the promptings of her own heart under the influence of the precepts of its early education, led her to commit her cause to God and to President Cleveland rather than authorize the least approach to bloodshed. Although scarcely germane to the subject, it may be asked just here, why she has subsequently advocated capital punishment. To this her adherents reply that, first, she did not use the word "beheaded"; second, that she pronounced sentence against no individual, for she had no constitutional right to condemn or to pardon. She did give it as her personal judgment that such persons should be treated just as traitors who seize the reins of power have always been treated. She did fail to recognize any distinction between the offence committed against the throne of Hawaii and the same offence committed against that of Britain or Germany. She did hope, and still hopes, that they will leave the kingdom. She did refrain from giving her personal assurance that their lives and property would be protected by her should they elect to remain.

Now, returning more directly to our subject, to what must we assign the respect for human life, the security of private property, which is so marked in this community? First, last, and always, to those devoted men and women who are often made the objects of heartless ridicule and thoughtless sneers, — to the missionaries; they had plastic material, to be sure, but it was just as plastic in the hand of the devil; they had in the earlier days the advantage of much isolation, and they established the community in a righteousness from which it has never departed. Granted that their ideal was too puritanic, too narrow, too superhuman, if you will, although I dissent from this view, there was the ideal, there was the target for the national aim, and without it this community would never have its present exemption from bloody strife,

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its present immunity from anarchy and disorder. Why! was there ever known a case before in the history of the world where revolt had entered and revolution occurred, and yet, the ensuing year showed no uprising of those lawless characters who are ever ready in all communities to selfishly avail themselves of like confusion for the gain of power or worldly lucre? What prevents it here? They are here and in both parties, royalist and provisionalist. Why do they not do as in ancient Scriptural days, when each man did that which was right in his own eyes and every man's hand was against his neighbor? Because a greater than Abraham, a greater than Solomon was here; because the principles of the Sermon on the Mount were made the basis of the laws and customs of this new nation. All honor to the missionaries, say I. "We have this treasure in earthen vessels," wrote one of the earliest of their number when speaking of other associates of his nearly two thousand years ago, and were they other than men, the work they have accomplished would not be so worthy our admiration.

The China steamer put in here the other day, and a stranger dined next to me at the hotel, who distributed broadcast evidences of his contempt for the missionaries. "My friend," said I, "I have been a sea captain, and were I to go the voyage now before you, and have an accident happen to my ship near an island in the broad Pacific, at which spot I could bring her to an anchor, for my own sake and the safety of my passengers, nothing would so delight my heart as the sight of a missionary flag; yes, I don't believe I should pause a moment in my joy to ask whether it was Roman, Puritan, or Wesleyan. I think the fact that there were men and women living on that distant spot in the fear of the Lord, and with the object of teaching his gospel to others, would be happiness enough for one voyage. What do you think, supposing you to be one of my imaginary passengers?" He winced, turned away his head, and changed the subject. Christian missions of whatever denomination are worth to the civilized world every dime or shilling or franc which has been sent abroad.

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# CHARITY IN HAWAII.

FROM what sources do the American people derive their knowledge of events at Honolulu? and how is their opinion on Hawaiian questions formed? First, the press despatches from thence, all, or nearly all, of which are prepared under the supervision of the party in power; second, from the San Francisco press, this being, from local and selfish reasons, a unit in favor of the annexationists; third, from private letters, all of which, going to the United States from the same party, but speaking as individuals, confirm the testimony of the more public utterances. Clearly, therefore, whether the provisionalists be right or wrong, the American people have had little opportunity to form their opinions save on the evidence of those who caused the revolt.

The fact above stated constitutes the excuse of citizens of the United States that they have not more generally resented the persistent assumption on the part of the revolutionists that it is American capital which demands our protection, American interests and property now in jeopardy here. It is Hawaiian property, wrung from Hawaiian land, which has been leased at merely nominal rental by the favor of the Hawaiian Government, cultivated by cheap labor imported by the privileges of Hawaiian law; the immense accumulations, the enormous dividends, result from the favoring conditions given by the Hawaiian Government to the sugar-planters, notably the reciprocity treaty, a measure inaugurated under the brother of Liliuokalani. There lies before me an official statement of the ten most prosperous plantations; by this it is clear that an investment of $4,655,000 in sugar produced last year an average dividend of 22.6 per cent., the highest percentage being forty, and the lowest thirteen per cent. It is not even hinted that the lives or private property of these men were in danger. Is not the above sufficient evidence that their mercantile prosperity has been enormous, and that they were not oppressed very grievously in their incorporated estates? They will be happy, indeed, if for the twenty years to come their confederated wisdom shall succeed in giving to them such substantial

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returns as those which have flowed into their pockets under the reigns of those sovereigns of whom they cannot speak charitably to-day.

Why, then, did they rebel? Why, indeed? It was another illustration of the old fable of the goose who laid the golden egg. It was the old story, and the Royalist Government might have quoted to them their own Bible where it says, "I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me." It was the arrogance of riches, and not the turning of the poor worm under the heel of the oppressor. It was the love of power; it was the greed of gain.

Let us grant that such power would have been wisely used for the benefit of the Hawaiian, if you will; let us never insinuate that the gain would have been or is that of the pirate or filibuster; none the less is it true that love of power and two cents a pound additional profit caused the revolt more than any other secret spring of action. When men move together, or when the individual acts, it is from mixed motives; there may have been those in the provisionalist ranks in whose breasts patriotism (as they understood it, which means here devotion to the land of their ancestors, not to the land on which they were born) aroused them to action; but the master-motive of the movement proceeded from the arrogance of capital, — associated capital, which brooks no opposition, and, like Alexander, is not satisfied with the world it has already conquered.

These men, in private life, are the very cream of the world; they are hospitable, even where the stranger has at times entered their doors but to betray the faults and foibles of their family circle; they are moral and religious, offering to the God of their fathers their daily lives in humble effort to follow that of his Son; they are charitable, using that term in application to a desire to bless and help others, so that most of them do something for the education and support of Hawaiian youth.

This is the individual life; now, would that the same could be written of the associated life of the community, but, in truth, it cannot. It is no easier for them to make this the kingdom of heaven than it was for the rich man to enter it burdened with his wealth in the days when the Teacher of Nazareth stated the difficulty. And therefore we find them lacking in that charity which thinketh no evil, beareth all things, seeketh not her own, and believeth all things.

That which they have said of their Queen, the stories they have circulated of the private life of some of her adherents, could be readily reciprocated in kind. Let the royalist, the Hawaiian, have this to his credit: he has never descended to that kind of warfare. But is it not

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sad that the scandal and the gossip of this civil strife should have come from lips on which the notes of prayer have scarce been hushed? that for real forbearance and that silence which is golden, we must look, not to the children of the missionary, but to the descendants of the savage or the family of the unbeliever?

It is not forgotten here that the only detraction from the merits of the martyred priest of Molokai came from one of their number, after the lips which had prayed for the dying leper every day for nearly twenty years were cold and silent. With us this is a dead issue; but since I have been here two articles have appeared in a native newspaper resenting the old slander of Father Damien's character. For these Hawaiians feel: they bear wrong in silence, but the heart is heavy and sore.

"They think we are indifferent," said a full-blooded Hawaiian to me, — "these people who have tried to barter away our nation; and why? We do not deny that they have been our friends. We love our friends; we meet them in private life just as we always did; we try to treat them hospitably and courteously; we say nothing of the wrong they have done our Queen; and what is our return? They send word to other nations that we do not care; that we will cheerfully submit to loss of nationality. They are utterly wrong; we feel our position, and suffer keenly, sadly, though silently."

Other testimony at my command most fully confirms the above. No person ignorant of the Hawaiian temperament can appreciate the intense delicacy of this people. Oh, how they love their flag! No wonder that the provisionalist party, having sought to obliterate the nation, now are considering sundry designs for changing radically the national ensign, — those colors which were once before hauled down by a foreign power, but which the native, to his great joy, saw restored after nearly six months by the same power. Thus there is a precedent for their simple, honest, Christian faith that the United States will do as honorably by them as was done by monarchical Great Britain, and the first act of Colonel Blount gave the color of truth to this inference.

But how did they greet the change of ensigns? Would any other nation have allowed a foreign symbol to flutter undisturbed for over two months?

They bore it until the day came when, by the order of the American minister, it was to come down; then they assembled to see the restoration of their own. A friend of mine stood by a group of Hawaiians as the change was made. Down came the American, and up rose the Hawaiian colors. "Why don't you cheer?" he asked. Silence was the

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answer. "Why don't you cheer?" he demanded again. His eyes had been raised aloft, or he would not have questioned them. For, turning around and looking into the dark faces of the men and women at his elbow, there were great tears of joy rolling down their cheeks, and voices would have been drowned in sobs. "Besides," said one of the men to him, "we would not do anything to hurt the feelings of the Americans; it is their flag, you know."

That is Hawaiian. It is not our teaching that gave them their national characteristics. They are children, say those who would be their guardians. Well, suppose they are, and spoiled children at that. Who was it that said we must receive His teachings as a little child? who not only suffered but loved little children? What estimate would we make of any person who should hate a child, or take the least advantage of its innocent confidence?

What is their national custom when the latter mentioned becomes fact? Within six months I have answered that question from observations made in the evening on the streets of London, where the poor outcast woman wanders in search of bread. What is her fate in Hawaii? As soon as it is known that she requires the sympathy of her friends, a couple of good women with whom fortune has been kinder in that each has husband, home, and humble means, go for her — to reproach and draw aside their skirts? Oh, no; but to vie with each other in inducing her to give her child to them to be reared, clothed, and educated as a member of a legitimate family circle. The poor mother does not lose her position, and the child is forever ignorant that he is not in the home of his own parents. Now, the Hawaiian did not learn to cut this broad mantle of charity from the New England fashion-plate.

This custom is universal; nobleman and fisherman are proud to perpetuate it; and when to a married pair of the humbler class a child is born, there is no need of anxiety, for the ready hand and hospitable heart of more than one of the parents' friends not only stand ready, but almost angrily urge their claim, to receive the little stranger. There was a lady here in public life who had in her service a most devoted married pair; they were loyal to her, true to each other, and in one instance nearly paid for their constancy with their lives. A child was born to them, and as a delicate reward this noble lady said, "That child shall be mine, in that I will rear, educate, and clothe it for you; it shall always have the best and live in plenty." Again, in another part of the island was born another infant, and some one told the noble lady that her own husband ought to assume its support. And she resented the imputation? No;

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she said, "Go and get the new-comer; I cannot do it, but it shall be placed with a friend of mine, and shall never know reproach or want, but be fed, clad, and reared as well as any one in the kingdom."

What has been the result to two beautiful, innocent children? They call the woman who has reared them "mamma." She is one whose life has been from girlhood to age free from the least attack of social enmity. But what was the result to their benefactor and noble patroness? This woman was Queen Liliuokalani, and in thus showing her benevolence and conforming to a national custom, making herself thereby the equal of her humblest subject on the glorious, the divine plane of that charity which covereth a multitude of sins, she exposed her own breast to the wicked attacks of her political enemies.

Again would I assert, in terms as strong as language can make them, that I write not from hearsay, but after personal interviews with the parties to the above transaction. Charity, like crime, is contagious. It took all my cooler judgment to control my impulse to conform to Hawaiian custom, and so beg for myself and Chauncy Hall School the honor of bringing up one of these island waifs in the institution where the Queen's husband received his education.

At one end of the city of Honolulu is the missionary seminary for the instruction of Hawaiian girls. In the temporary penury of the royal patron I cannot say how many there are now the recipients of her bounty, but until recently twenty were supported there from her private purse. That which was true of this institution was also true of others, where she placed the children of her poorer friends. Further, when the means of this institution were insufficient, the managers went to her Majesty; she heard their story, and drew seventeen thousand dollars from her own funds, which she gave to them for investment, the income to be used for their good. What was done with this sum? It was put into construction bonds of a plantation railroad company, from which no income has been derived, and on which probably not a cent of principal will ever be paid; and the man who was responsible for the loss to the Queen of her intended benevolence, and to the seminary for its fund, was one of the commissioners who hurried to Washington with the annexation treaty.

When one of the Queen's ministers went into her presence during the last days of her power, he found her diligently studying the appropriation bill. He told her that, owing to limited revenues, there must be general reductions, and, looking at the items, he cut down one after the other. "But," she said, "it is going to be very hard on those poor school-

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teachers to have their salaries so reduced; they do not receive any too much pay now." — "I know it, your Majesty," said he, "but it is necessary; there's only just so much money to go round." He had noticed that on the memorandum before her she had written her own name at the head of her list. "I will tell you," said she, drawing her pencil through the figures, "begin with me; take off all that item; that'll help ten thousand dollars;" thus surrendering the sole cash payment which she received from the department of finance, rather than cripple the means of the instructor of her people.

But what, then, would be her means of support? The rent of the crown lands reserved from all time were the income of the sovereign, as previously explained by me in these letters. These rentals have been confiscated to the use of the Provisional Government, and notwithstanding this accretion of their revenues to the amount of, say, $50,000, their disbursements exceed by more than a hundred per cent. the public expenditure under the Queen; besides which, when she was in receipt of this sum, a large retinue of the native people were supported from her purse. Some have placed it as high as three hundred in number. Now it is paid to send commissioners to Washington, to pay Mr. Thurston's living there, to support President Dole and his council, and, further, to maintain the provisionalist army of aliens which are drilled daily to prevent the Queen's restoration to the throne. The native Hawaiian receives little or no benefit from the bountiful provision of the Kamehamehas.

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# MY HAWAIIAN CONCLUSIONS.

San Francisco, March 19, 1894.

At home again! For this city has been to me all which is expressed by that dear word, and, with the single exception of Boston, is the only one which I would willingly call by that sweetest of names. From the side of one of its lofty hills, inspired by its electric air, I look back across two thousand miles of sea to that unhappy community in which for two months I have been a sojourner. During the last evening spent with President Dole and his charming wife, he relaxed almost entirely his official dignity, and favored me with his opinions of present and future, so that we talked of matters more after the manner of two friends in council. And I was sincere when I told him that it was with great sadness I looked at the situation, feeling that it was impossible for me to agree with the sentiments and see the justice of the position held by the party in power. Could there not yet be some compromise, some conciliation? Were there to be such, it must come from his side. It could not come from the royalists, or emanate from the deposed Queen.

But, alas! the first step is that which no loyal Hawaiians can take; namely, an oath, first, of fidelity to the self-elected nineteen; second, of declaration that never will they assist Liliuokalani to regain her throne; third, that they will never be party to any attempt to re-establish monarchy in the land. The Rubicon to be crossed is far too turbulent a stream, that which may be on the opposite shore is far too uncertain a goal, to tempt one thus to burn each and every bridge at the start.

As I take leave of this hospitable and amiable people, of kindred ancestry to my own, I am asked to explain why I commend them so heartily as individuals, and judge them so sternly in their corporate acts. Is not this often — too often — in accordance with the facts of history? Any keen observer of character can point to a dozen men of his acquaintance who in private life are each of them the embodiment of that which is courteous, kindly, and benevolent; yet organize those same men into an insurance company, a railroad corporation, or a manufacturing plant,

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even a government, and they will only be another example of the truism that corporations have no souls. Their course will not be marked by any conduct the line of which diverges from that of their fellows. They will stand on legal right, become a tyrannical monopoly, or reduce wages to the lowest living point, just as unhesitatingly as any of their competitors.

From the facts and statements which, from all sides and at their strongest and best, have been laid before the *Transcript* readers, from much more which has not been written, I will now state my own conclusions, not, however, citing evidence, for this would be to reopen the whole case.

The revolt was not an impulse; it was not in the least connected with religion; no such jealousy was present at its birth, and it is kept in being by no sectarianism. The first error, on their own statement, was made by the American party nearly twenty-five years ago when they, by political machination, defeated the accession to the throne of Queen Emma, who was the choice of the people. This forced them to a graver fault in 1887, when they wrested the constitution of that year from Kalakaua. Gaining confidence, and loving power, they were thus ripe for that bolder movement which should take, by annexation, the country entirely away from Hawaiian rule. Once having trampled on the right of the majority, they fail now to realize the absurdity of their assumption that seven hundred voters have the right to convey away or rule a nation of ninety thousand.

The Queen was self-willed and arbitrary, yet she was not to be the personal gainer by any of the measures she proposed, save in the increase of power under the proffered constitution. Personally she is a good woman, her public acts being persistently misrepresented, her private character — of late, and only of late — cruelly traduced for political ends.

None of her measures were of a character to justify revolution, save the promulgation of the new constitution. When Williams College was built by lottery, when less than thirty years ago the city of San Francisco owed its library to the same means, when Great Britain has found it necessary to regulate the sale of a drug which cannot be excluded, it is absurd to assume that for the purpose of raising funds for public works by sale of the lottery franchise, for the purpose of the better conduct of a traffic in which thirteen thousand of her Chinese subjects were interested, Queen Liliuokalani, however unwise, committed any crime against the State by her assent to these measures.

From 1840 to the present day new constitutions have at intervals been promulgated in Hawaii. The first was voluntarily given to the

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people by the reigning monarch. In 1887 it was extorted from the sovereign under threats of assassination by the very party who are now in power. They did not use that word, however. Twenty were bound by oath that any five drawn should "execute him for the public good." They do not use this latter phrase in speaking of the judgment of Liliuokalani as to the reward due to treason; with her, it is "the bloodthirstiness of the savage." It is not easy for me to see that a public act which is creditable to one party is a subversion of right if attempted by another. If it was proper for subjects to change the constitution in 1887, why, then, was it so horrible for the sovereign to propose to the subjects to make a change in her favor in 1893? She did propose; they objected. She withdrew her amendment; why revolt?

Granted, nevertheless, that her action was such as to destroy confidence in her wisdom for the future, there was an easy way out of the dilemma — one that has the authority of historical precedents; namely, after seizing the reins of government to voluntarily resign on the abdication of the Queen in favor of the next heir to the throne. As this would have been to introduce to the Hawaiian people a Queen of whom any land might be proud, their neglect to do this proves inevitably that their wish was either to betray the country to another nation, or to secure its direction for themselves. Their revolution had, therefore, for its object either treason by the transfer of a nation against the will of the people, or the ruling of that nation in violation of its constitution. It was not, therefore, a justifiable revolt.

The action of Minister Stevens, of Captain Wiltse, of the naval forces of the United States, was in harmony with island precedent. If an arm is used with good results in many instances, and then in another works an injustice, we must accept the latter, because in former cases all parties were bound thereby. I am aware that there was some difference between the crisis of 1893 and past disturbances; but in an emergency men must be pardoned if they fail to recognize nice distinctions.

Although taking no active part, the presence of the troops did intimidate the Queen. Fear is an emotion, not the result of a train of thought. She feared that to resist would expose her people to great odds; yet, as a fact, in the event of collision, our forces would only have prevented the destruction of private property and the slaughter of non-participants. Such a police force quartered on shore for nearly three months had a salutary influence in preserving the peace.

There is no manner of doubt that there was a reference on the part of the two parties to the judgment of the United States. The claim of

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President Dole that in agreeing to such, Minister Damon was acting in a personal and not official capacity, is a lawyer's subterfuge, not in the line of conduct which should always make any understanding given by an honest man as binding as the strongest bond. Had the decision been promptly made, annexation as promptly denied, all before the provisionalists had intrenched themselves in power and learned to love their oligarchy, the demand made by Minister Willis would have been met with assent or by compromise.

Annexation to the United States on the one hand, restoration of the Queen by the United States on the other, are the two considerations which have hitherto restrained the two parties from clash; they are both delusions, but the faith of each party in its own scheme is far from shaken.

No patriotic American citizen can ever, for a moment, admit the feasibility of annexation; and men of all parties owe to President Cleveland the greatest debt of eternal gratitude that he had the wisdom and courage to recall the treaty. Had it been brought to the knowledge of Benjamin Harrison that the five men who claimed to be treating with him for the Hawaiian people were in no way authorized to represent the 637 American voters resident in Hawaii, it is scarcely probable that those self-commissioned ambassadors would have received consideration until our President had taken means to learn something of the sentiments of the 90,000 people.

But, from all points, Mr. Cleveland's appointment of Colonel Blount was a mistake. A commission of prominent men of both parties should have gone, and the decision of that judicial body should have been enforced, just as in kindred crises the decisions of Great Britain and France have been emphasized; that is, not by menace, but by opening the turrets of our naval vessels and demanding compliance. Both British and French naval vessels have done exactly this in the past; their action has never been challenged by the other great powers, nor has any commander been openly censured by superior authority.

It is useless now to try to remedy the blunders of the past. Absolute non-intervention in all Hawaiian affairs must be our policy. We must be unmoved by threats of alliance with Great Britain, because it is the boast of the annexationists that, by carrying out such threats, they can and will compel us to admit the domain to our Union. We must reciprocate by assuring them that the sooner they can make terms with any other power the better pleased we shall be. In the first place, the court of St. James will not receive officially the tender of a nation made to

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them by a minority in power; in the second place, to be prosperous, Hawaiian sugar-planters must enter their staple at San Francisco duty free. If they remain an independent nation, their chance of doing this is unparalled; if they become a British colony, it is cut off forever. We could make a free-trade treaty with a country having, like Hawaii, absolutely no manufactures. It will be a long day before we make any free-trade negotiations with Great Britain.

We must, in discussion, firmly repel the assumption made by these men that we owe them political asylum because they are Americans. No more false impression than this has been given throughout the contest. They are foreigners, — just as truly foreigners in this respect as the citizens of any other land. Those not born in Hawaii have dwelt there so many years, have sworn allegiance to foreign governments, have held office under those governments, have gained all their wealth (on which they never paid us a tax) under foreign statutes, all to that degree that they are not entitled to consideration as American citizens, simply because their ancestors, actuated by pious motives, emigrated from America over half a century ago, and the children have placed themselves, by their own fault, in a situation of political danger. There is scarcely a dollar of United States capital invested in Hawaii. It is all Hawaiian money gained under the favoring statutes of that monarchy against which they are now rebels. The single exception to this statement is in the case of the capital controlled by Claus Spreckels, and his house is loyal to the legally constituted government.

Having thus repelled any assumption on their part that the least legal claim exists, we should proceed to treat them with that liberality which is always due from the strong to the weak. If a duty is placed on raw sugar, we ought to except from the tariff all sugar produced on Hawaiian soil. We ought to go farther than this: as soon as there is a legally constituted government, one recognized by the great powers, whatever that government is, we should lose no time in appointing a commission to make a treaty of absolute free trade with the new Hawaiian nation. This treaty could be simplicity itself; it should provide that all merchandise produced or manufactured in either country, passing between the ports of the two, under either flag, should be absolutely free of custom-house charges. This would secure to us the commerce of the islands; it would insure to our flag the carrying trade; it would give to the Pacific Coast all the advantages of annexation; while it would spare to the American Union the continual expense of enormous appropriations (which these provisionalists will certainly

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demand), the disturbance of our national councils by their local questions, the great embarrassment and weakness the islands would be to us either in time of peace or in case of war.

There are two other perfectly legitimate methods by which we can help the Hawaiian nation. One of these is by the construction of a telegraphic cable from our coast to Hawaii. The route has already been surveyed; the ocean bed is found to be soft ooze in which the cable will easily sink, thereby being secure against decay and parasitic influence. The distance is 2,100 miles, the cost $2,700,000, on which, by government guaranty and private patronage, a dividend of, perhaps, two per cent. can be paid from the start; and, with the line extending to Japan or Australia, the income can be doubled. The second enterprise in which the two nations are interested is the Nicaragua Canal, which should be built, owned, and managed by the United States of America. Being constructed by the people, it should then be made entirely free to all vessels under the American flag, and a moderate toll, say, two dollars a ton, charged to other vessels. By this means, we help Hawaii to introduce her products into our own gulf ports, and assist her commerce with Europe; we relieve the Pacific coast of the tyranny of the railroad systems; and if we add to that the privilege of the purchase of ships wherever we can get the most for our money, we shall revive American commerce to a degree unapproached since its decline. These two measures should receive the support of every lover of either Hawaii or the United States. Let us thus give to "our colony," as they wish to style themselves, every mercantile advantage, but steadfastly refuse to allow ourselves to be entangled in their politics.

It is not in place for an alien to suggest how another nation ought to manage its domestic affairs; but as I have been persistently asked to express an opinion on this point, I will add it to the foregoing statement.

There are only three courses open to Hawaii; namely, oligarchy, a republic, or constitutional monarchy; of these, the republic is the least stable. The attempt to carry on the nation under such rule will probably subject it to frequent revolution, anarchy, and ultimate chaos. There is, however, a chance that this prediction will be at fault; but that chance means that, while nominally a republic, the government will be, in fact, an armed despotism, supported in the future, as it is to-day, by well-drilled alien troops, thereby guaranteeing its stronghold until insensibly, after years shall elapse, it may approximate to a commonwealth.

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It has been well said that there is no party in Hawaii favorable to the next heir to the throne. This lack of partisanship gives to the present government its golden opportunity. They should at once make a compromise with their opponents. They should accept the abdication of Liliuokalani, and support as the reigning sovereign, under a proper regency, the Princess Kaiulani. She should be their candidate, not that of the royalist party; but these would be then deprived of all excuse for refusing the oath of allegiance. Such a government would require no recognition from the great powers; it would be at once constitutional, and its diplomatic representatives would be promptly received abroad. The relief to all classes at the Hawaiian islands would be instantaneous, business would at once revive, and the country would enter upon renewed prosperity. This is the only course open to the provisionalists which will not end in political and financial ruin.

Such, neglecting unimportant points, are my conclusions in regard to Hawaiian affairs. I claim for them no infallibility, nor do I defy any opponent to prove their falsity. I simply say that I had better facilities for forming an opinion than any other person, because I was most kindly and confidentially treated by those of all parties. These words will be read, doubtless, by those to whom I am indebted for numerous kindly acts; those at whose tables I have sat as a welcome and favored guest. To their always open doors, to their cordial hospitality and genial confidence, I am under obligations for the opportunity to write of the points at issue. I am certain that my island friends, whatever their political affiliations, — those of all parties, — will find something in these pages to condemn. I can only call attention to the fact that few names, for blame or praise, are mentioned here; that I have tried to speak of principles; I have not assumed to be a judge of men. There is certainly no malice in my heart, and I trust none will be discovered where I express these views as the final judgment of one familiar with the premises and understanding the residents of the islands. I offer them with the assurance (of which the *Transcript* has scarcely need) that they are the result of a judgment noted my life long for absolute independence. No public journal could have bought my pen to write upon this question in any other manner than that in which it should be supported by my own conscience. While believing that neglect to vote should be a punishable misdemeanor, I never yet voted or acted with any political party, nor conceded to it the right to make a platform of my principles.

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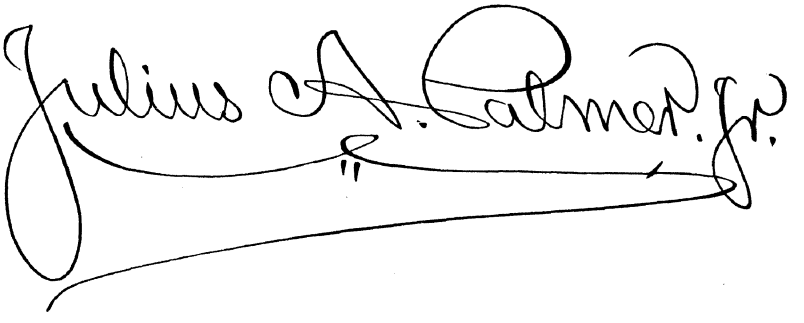
While parties may be necessary, a selection of the best names on all tickets, to be made by the voter at the polls, should be the rule and not the exception. Thus would each party be nerved to put forward its best men, while now a man is nominated and, from the start, is sure of the suffrages of a majority of his party. Party whips should be openly defied; party allegiance should be a disgrace to any man; then political bosses would be impossible, and there would be no such circle as a ruling ring.

Such having been my views, and having acted thereon for thirty years, any reader can judge how much partisanship there is in my final judgment on the Hawaiian question.



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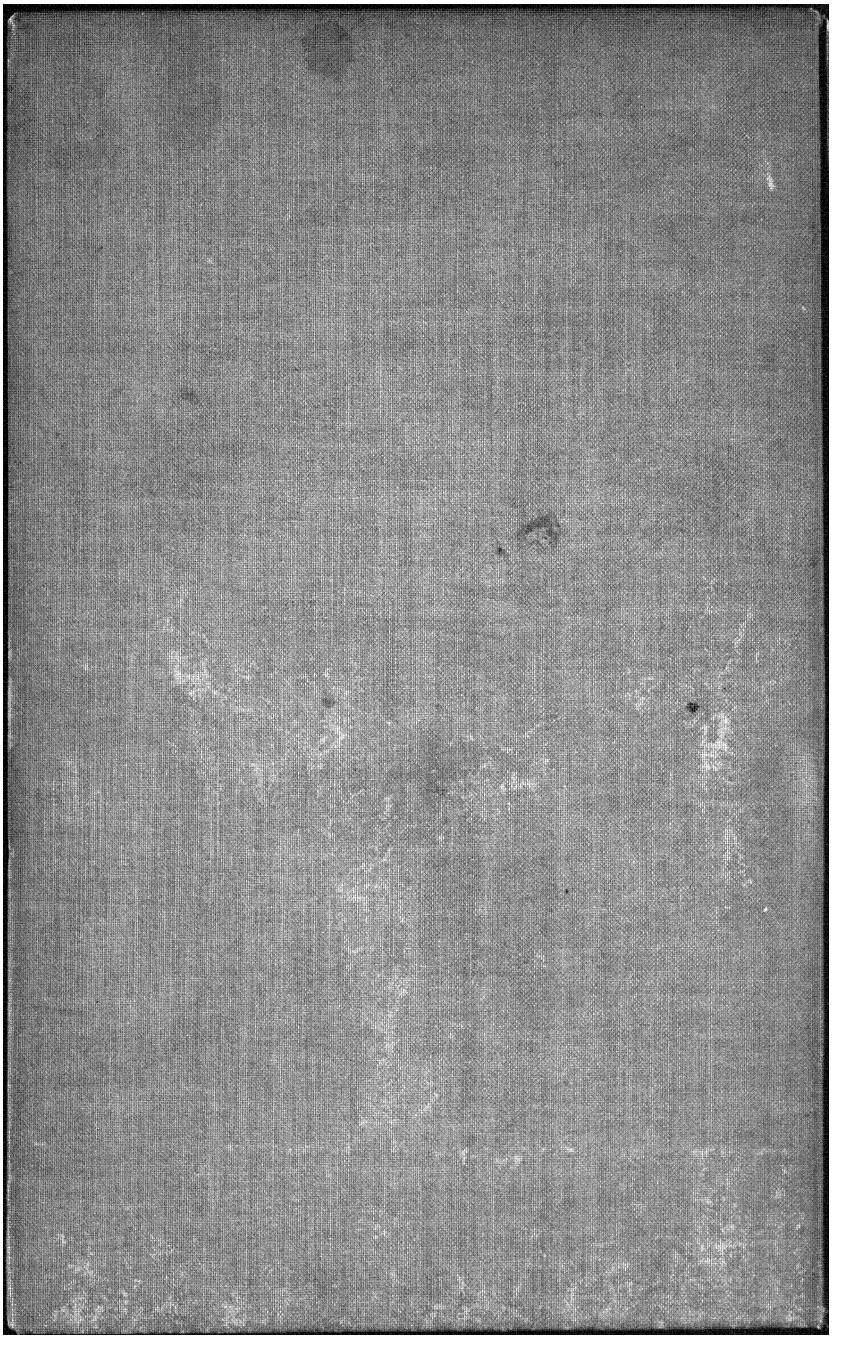

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